

THE
WORLD displayed;
OR, A
CURIOUS COLLECTION
OF
VOYAGES and TRAVELS,

Selected from
The WRITERS of all NATIONS.

In which the
CONJECTURES and INTERPOLATIONS
OF

Several vain *Editors* and *Translators* are
expunged,

Every Relation is made concise and plain,

AND

The DIVISIONS of *Countries* and *Kingdoms* are
clearly and distinctly noted.

Illustrated and Embellished

With Variety of MAPS and PRINTS,
By the best HANDS.

VOL. XVII.

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in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*. MDCCLXVII.

WORLD displayed

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VOYAGES and TRAVELS

The Western of Nations
Connections and Interrelations

Several cities, towns and villages are

being shown in a map of this

A map of the world showing the

Sp. Call.

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A
D E S C R I P T I O N
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G U I N E A.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

✿✿✿✿ HAVING led our Readers through
✿ H ✿ the most considerable countries in
✿ ✿ *Asia*, we shall return to *Africa*,
✿✿✿✿ where we have not only already de-
scribed *Egypt*, and the country of
the *Hottentots* from the most learned and cele-
brated Authors; but have illustrated our de-
scriptions of both by very elegant plates. In-
deed little more of this vast country is known,
except those kingdoms and provinces situated
on the coast: these we shall describe from the
most approved Authors that have wrote upon
the subject; and where we have materials that
may be depended on, we shall enter into the
heart of the country, and gratify the Reader
with whatever is found there most curious and
entertaining.

VOL. XVII.

B

CHAP.

C H A P. I.

Of the Gold Coast of Guinea; the Manner in which the Gold is found; with the Dress, Religion, and Customs of the Inhabitants.

GUINEA is a large country that extends several hundred miles along the western coast of *Africa*, and is divided into many kingdoms and commonwealths. The Gold Coast reaches about 330 miles: it beginning according to Mr. *Smith*, at the river *Mancha*, and extending to the *Volta*; comprehending the countries of *Axim*, *Ante*, *Adam*, *Jabi*, *Commani*, *Fetu*, *Saboe*, *Fantyn*, *Acrin*, *Agona*, and *Aquamboe*; each containing a village or two on the sea-shore; but their most populous towns are generally within the land.

To begin with *Axim*, the inhabitants of this country are generally rich, from their driving a great trade with the *Europeans* for gold, which they chiefly dispose of to the *English* or *Dutch*. They employ themselves either in trade, fishing, or the cultivation of rice, which is transported from thence all over the Gold Coast; and they receive in return, millet, jammes, potatoes, and palm oil. The river *Ancober*, on the borders of this province, has a winding course; and its banks are adorned with fine lofty trees, that afford a most agreeable shade,
and

and defend the traveller from the scorching beams of the sun. It is very pleasant to observe the birds beautifully variegated with the brightest colours, and the sportive apes, diverting themselves on the boughs of the trees.

The *Dutch* fort of St. *Anthony* is at the mouth of this river; and about seven or eight leagues to the south-east, they have also a large beautiful fort which belonged to the King of *Prussia*; but was taken by the *Dutch* in the year 1724.

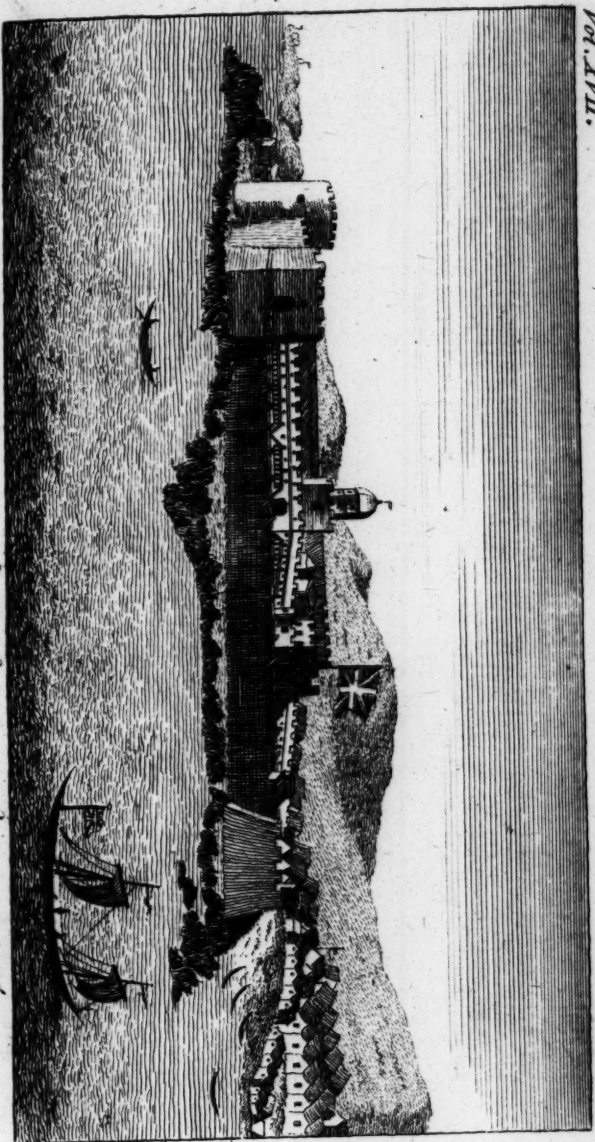
In the next province, which is that of *Ante*, the *English* have a fort called *Dickscove*, which is a handsome regular fortification with four good batteries, on which are mounted 20 pieces of ordnance. This, and all the other *English* forts, are subordinate to *Cape Coast* Castle. There are also several *Dutch* forts. This country, as well as the Gold Coast, abounds in hills covered with lofty and beautiful trees. Between these hills, the valleys are wide and extensive. The earth produces in great abundance, very good rice, the richest sort of millet, which has a red grain; sugar canes of an extraordinary size; and the palm-trees, which affords the inhabitants the most excellent wine and oil. There are here all sorts of tame and wild beasts. This country is watered by a river that is navigable three miles from its mouth; but the cataracts above that distance render it impassable beyond it. It affords great plenty of fish, notwithstanding its being pestered by incredible numbers of crocodiles. On each side of this river grow a sort of trees, great and small intermixed, whose branches shoot

directly into the water, where they are immediately covered with oysters, which are at first of the bigness of shell-snails; but in a short time grow to their natural size.

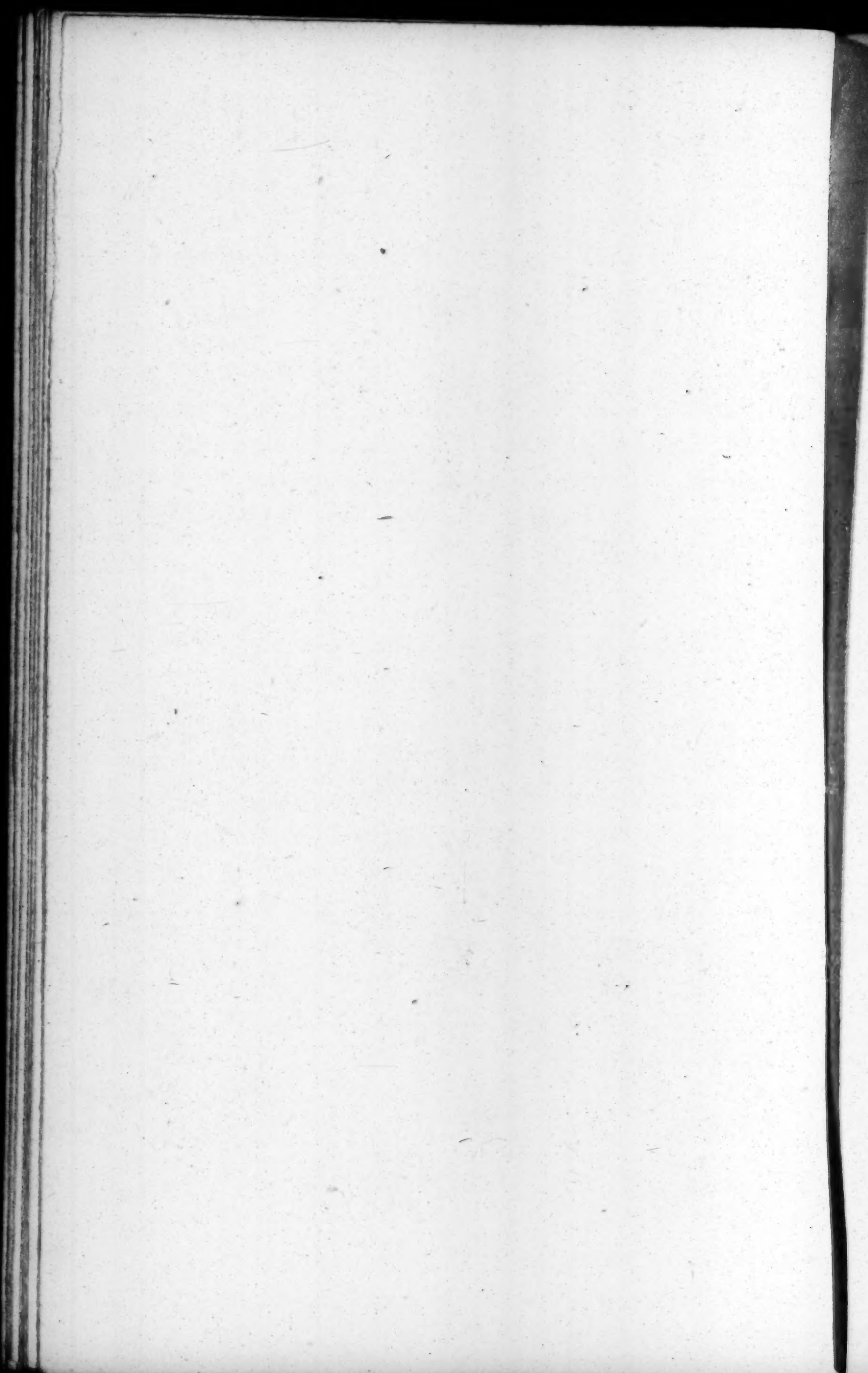
The countries of *Acom* and *Jabi* are extremely fertile in maize, and have several mines of gold.

In the country of *Commani* or *Commenda*, is a town thus named, where is the largest and strongest of any fort belonging to the *English* on the Gold Coast, except *Cape Coast* Castle; and within a musket-shot is also a good *Dutch* fort. The gardens are very good, and there are large villages of Negroes belonging to both forts.

In the next province named *Fetu* is *Cape Coast* Castle, which being a place of great consequence belonging to *England*, deserves a particular description. This castle was founded by the *Portuguese* about the year 1610, upon a large rock, which projects into the sea, forming a head-land, to which they gave the name of *Cabo Corso*. In a few years they were dispossessed by the *Dutch*, who enlarged and beautified it. The parade which is 20 feet perpendicular above the surface of the rock, forms a kind of quadrangle, open on the east side towards the sea, which renders it very cool, airy and pleasant, and affords a fine view of *Queen Anne's Point*, and of the ships in *Anamaboe* road, which has a platform of thirteen pieces of heavy cannon. The other three sides contain many neat and spacious apartments and offices, particularly



A View of Cape Coast Castle, with part of the Negro Town.



particularly on the south sides is a large well-built chapel, the back part of which joins to the castle wall. The Negroe town is very large and populous. The inhabitants, tho' Pagans, are a very civilized sort of people: their chief employment is fishing, at which they are very dexterous, and it is a pleasing sight to behold 80 or 100 canoes going out to fish in the morning, and returning in from sea well freighted in the evening, which may be seen every day during the dry season, except *Tuesday*, which is their Fetish day, or Sabbath. The garden of *Cape Coast* Castle is very large and pleasant, it being near eight miles in circumference: it is no where circumscribed by either walls or hedges, except on the south side next the town; but all in general is called the Garden as far as any regular walks are planted. It produces every thing that grows within the Torrid Zone, as pine-apples, oranges, lemons, limes, citrons, guavas, plantanes, papas, bonanas, cocoa-nuts, cinnamon, and tamarinds; also many sorts of *European* fruits and salads.

By the side of the garden, on the top of a steep hill, is a little round tower, that mounts seven guns; which from its being built by General *Phipps*, is called *Phipps's Tower*; it is three quarters of a mile to the north-west of the castle. At the same distance to the east by north is another *English* fort called *Fort Royal*, which formerly belonged to the King of *Denmark*, and is every way inaccessible through

the steepness of the hill, except by one narrow path, which a single gun may defend.

The *Dutch* have likewise several forts in the country of *Feu*, the principal of which is the castle of *St. George del Mina*, situated near the town of *Mina*; this according to Mr. *Besman*, has not its equal in all the Gold Coast. It is built square with very high walls, and has four good batteries within, and another on the out-work of the castle: on the land side it has the advantage of two canals cut in the rock on which it stands, which are always furnished with rain or fresh water sufficient for the use of the garrison and ships. Besides, within the castle are three very fine cisterns, containing several hundred tuns of rain-water. Below the castle is the town of *Mina*, called by the natives *Oodena*; but though it is but indifferently built, the houses are of stone, wherein they differ from those of the other towns on the coast, which are usually only raised with wood and clay.

The next country is *Saboe*, in which is a *Dutch* fort named *Nassau*, that is almost square, but is broadest at the front; it has four batteries, and 18 pieces of cannon: the curtain takes in two sea batteries, and is equally spacious and convenient. The village of *Mourer*, which lies under it, is not so large as *Mina*, but is more populous; the greatest part of the inhabitants are fishermen; 4 or 500 of whom go out every morning in canoes to fish; who, upon their return, are obliged to pay every fifth fish as a toll to the *Dutch* factor.

In

In *Fantyn*, the next division, the *English* and *Dutch* have several small forts. The inland inhabitants, besides trading, are employed in tillage, and the making of palm-wine. The country is very populous, and besides its being rich in gold, produces all the necessaries of life; and more especially corn, which the inhabitants sell in large quantities to the ships that arrive there. Here is no King, the government being in the hands of a chief commander, whom they term their Braffo, or Leader. He is a kind of chief Governor, and has greater power than any other single person in the country; but his authority is restrained by the old men, who compose a kind of parliament.

The remainder of the Gold Coast contains the kingdoms of *Acror*, *Azonna*, and *Aquamboe*; the first of which borders on *Fantyn*, and has a *Dutch* fort in the middle of the coast, that has two batteries, on which are mounted eight pieces of cannon under it is a small village inhabited only by fishermen. The people of *Acror* seldom or never enter into war; for having chosen the *Fantynians* for their protectors, none dare injure or attack them; which afford them an opportunity of tilling their land in quiet, and they accordingly have annually a plentiful harvest; a great part of which they dispose of to other countries. Harts, hares, partridges, pheasants, and other wild-fowl and quadrupedes, are here very good, and in great abundance.

A little below the above fort, is a salt river that abounds both in fish and fowl. About a
mile

mile farther eastward, is a very high hill, called the *Devil's Mount*, said to contain vast quantities of gold. About this hill begins the country of *Aginna*, which surpasses *Acron* in largeness, power, and riches, though in fertility and pleasantness they are nearly equal.

We come next to the last country on the Gold Coast, that of *Aquamboe*, the greatest part of which is situated within the land; but the King extends his power over the Negroes of the Coast for above 20 miles, tho' they are governed by several distinct Sovereigns. The *Aquamboe* Negroes are haughty, arrogant and warlike, and their power, fills most of the neighbouring countries with terror. The *English*, *Danes*, and *Dutch* have each a fort at *Acra* in this province. Mr. *Bosman* says, that the King and his favourites are so rich in gold and slaves, that he is of opinion, this country possesses greater treasures than all the countries on the coast we have hitherto described: but tho' the soil is sufficiently fertile, the inhabitants commonly fall short of provisions before the end of the year.

The countries where most of the gold is obtained, are situated some distance within land, the best gold is found in or between particular hills; where the Negroes dig pits, and separate it from the earth dug up with it. It is also found about some rivers and water-falls, where after heavy rains it is washed down from the mountains by the violence of the torrents which sometimes fall, and bring down great quantities of earth that carry the gold with it. It

is likewise gathered on the sea shore, particularly at *Mina* and *Axim*, where are little branches of rivers, into which the gold is driven from mountainous places. In the morning after a rainy night, these places are sure to be visited by hundreds of Negro women, who have no other covering but a cloth tied round the waist, each is furnished with two callabashes, one of which they fill with earth and sand. This they wash with many waters, by often turning the callabash round, till it washes over the brims; while the gold, if there be any, sinks to the bottom by its own weight: and thus they continue till they have washed all away, except two or three spoonfuls at the bottom; this they carefully take out, and lay by in the other callabash; then they fill the other again, and wash on till about noon, when the callabash that receives the settlings, being pretty well filled, is carried home, and what remains is diligently searched, when they sometimes find a shilling's worth of gold, or sometimes as much as is worth half a guinea, and sometimes none at all.

The gold obtained by digging, or thus found, is of two sorts, one called gold dust, which is the best; the other consists of pieces of different sizes; some being hardly the weight of a farthing, and others weighing as heavy as twenty, or thirty guineas: few indeed are found so large as these; but the Negroes say, that they have in the country pieces that will weigh one or two hundred guineas; but the multitude of small stones which always adhere to them, occasion great loss in the melting.

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The Negroes of these countries are, however, said to be artists in adulterating gold, and sometimes impose upon the unexperienced tradesmen.

C H A P. II.

Of the Manners and Customs of the Negroes, on the Gold Coast.

THE Gold Coast being situated within the fifth degree of north latitude, the heat is excessive during the months of *October, November, December, January, February, and March*; but it is more temperate during the six remaining months. The coast is extremely unhealthful, owing to the heat of the day and the coolness of the night; with the thick and sulphureous mists which arise in the mountains. Indeed few come who are not seized by a sickness which frequently proves fatal: but since Dr. *James's* discovery of his admirable powder, and its being tried on this coast, the danger of going thither is in a manner removed.

Mr. *Bosman*, whose only fault as an historian, seems to be his writing with too much acrimony †, says, that all the Negroes on this coast are without exception, crafty, fraudulent, and seldom to be trusted; being sure to slip no opportunity of cheating an *European*, or even one another.

† The manner in which he sometimes treats the *English*, is equally void of candour.

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The richest of the natives adorn their hair with a sort of coral called *coute de terra*, which they esteem much more valuable than gold; and with a sort of blue coral called by the natives *accori*. They are very fond of our hats, for which they will pay a great price. Their arms, legs and waists are adorned with gold; and coral, and their arms in particular are adorned with rings of gold, silver and ivory. Round their waists they wrap three or four ells of silk, cloth, perpetuana, or other stuff, which hanging from the navel, covers half the leg. Their other ornaments are strings of gold, or chains of gold, silver, shells, &c. which they wear round their necks. But their Caboceros or chiefmen, who have a share in the government, wear only a handsome cloth round their waists, a cap made of deer-skin, with a string of coral about their heads, and always appear with a staff in their hands.

The common people have some an ell or two of cloth round their waists, others have only a kind of girdle to which was fastened a piece of stuff which passes between their legs, and serves to cover their nakedness; to this the fishermen add a cap made of deer-skin or rushes, or an old hat, purchased of some *European* sailor.

The women of rank shew themselves more skilled in the ornaments of dress than the men. The cloth they wear round the waist is much longer, and fastened with greater neatness about their bodies. Their hair is more beautifully adorned with gold, coral and ivory. Gold chains and strings of coral not only hang about
their

their necks; but their arms, legs and waists are in a manner covered by these splendid ornaments: besides on the upper part of their bodies they frequently cast a veil of silk, or some other fine stuff.

The Kings, while in their own houses, are not distinguished by the least grandeur. Their cloaths are sometimes not worth a shilling; and they eat the same food as the meanest of their subjects; for bread, oil, and a little stinking fish make up their bill of fare; and water is their most common drink; but they have brandy, which they purchase of the *Europeans*, and palm-wine, which they receive from the inland country. They have no guard at the palace gates, nor any but their own wives and their slaves to wait on them; and when they go abroad in their town, they are usually attended by only two boys, one of whom carries the King's sabre, and the other his feat. But in case they go to pay a visit to a considerable person in another town, or are to receive a visit from another great man, they take care to shew their grandeur; on such occasions they and their wives are richly adorned; they are accompanied by armed men, and have umbrellas held over their heads.

The arms used by the troops are muskets, of which vast numbers have been bought of the *Europeans*, and in the use of which they are extremely expert; their other weapons are a kind of lances called assagays, and a sort of sabres; they also wear large shields four or five feet long and three broad, made of osiers, some
of

of which are covered with tyger-skins, or other materials ; and some again have broad thin copper plates at each corner and in the middle, to ward off the assagays and arrows of an enemy. They fight without the least order, and are chiefly intent on obtaining prisoners, in order to make them slaves, and to obtain from them ornaments of gold and coral.

Almost all the Negroes believe in one God, to whom they attribute the creation of the world and all things in it. It also appears that they have some idea of the immortality of the soul. Every one has what he calls a Fetish, which is some ornament worn on the head, or any other substance dedicated to God, and to which they pay the greatest reverence ; for thinking themselves too mean to be allowed to offer their petitions immediately to the Supreme, they ignorantly esteem it more modest to address them to their Fetishes. Each Fetish or Priest, has his peculiar idol prepared in a particular and different manner ; which is mostly a large wooden pipe filled with earth, oil, blood, the bones of dead men and beasts, feathers, hair, and all such kinds of excrementitious substances thrust into the pipe : by these mixtures the Priest may probably convey the idea of some secret mystery, or some powerful charm, that has all the powers of necromancy. If a Negroe is to take an oath before this Fetish, he first asks the Priest its name, each having a peculiar one ; then calling the Fetish by it, he repeats what he is to confirm by an oath, and desires the Fetish to punish him with death if he swears falsely ;

then going round the pipe, he afterwards stands in the same place, and repeats the oath a second time, in the same manner as before, and so a third time ; after this the Fetishier takes some of the ingredients out of the pipe, with which he touches the person's head, arms, bell, and legs, and holding it above his head, turns it three times round. He then cuts a bit of the nail of one finger in each hand, and one toe on each foot, and some of the hair of the head, all which he puts into the pipe ; and thus the ceremonies of the oath are concluded.

Besides when their fishery is at a low ebb, they make offerings to the sea ; and almost every village has a small sacred grove to which the Governors, and principal inhabitants frequently repair to make their offerings. They are said to have some notion of the Devil, but are so far from paying him any kind of worship, that they have a custom of banishing him, which they perform annually with abundance of ceremony at a time appointed for that purpose. This is done after a feast of eight days, in which they take the greatest liberties with each others characters, and particularly with their superiors. This time of licence being ended, they hunt out the Devil with an horrid cry ; all running after one another, and throwing stones, dirt, and every thing that comes in their way at the supposed fiend. When they have driven him far enough out of town, they return to their houses, on which the women immediately wash and scour all their wooden

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en and earthen vessels very neat, to cleanse them from all pollution.

Marriage is not here obstructed by previous ceremonies. If a man likes a young woman, he has nothing more to do, than to ask her of her parents, who seldom refuse so reasonable a request, especially if he be in the least agreeable to their daughter. The bride brings no fortune ; but the man keeps an exact account of the expences of the wedding-day, and of the presents he makes to the bride or her friends, that if ever she become so far disgusted with him as to leave him, he may demand the whole again. But if he puts her away, he can demand nothing of her or her relations, unless he produces very good reasons why he dismisses her. They allow of a plurality of wives, and some are said to have even twenty ; but these are obliged to cultivate the earth, and to dress provisions for their husbands, who generally spend their time in loitering about, and drinking palm-wine : however, those who are rich have two wives that are perpetually exempted from labour. These are the first wife, who has the chief command, and the care of house-keeping ; the second is consecrated to their God, and is called their Fetish wife. Of this last they are generally very jealous ; with her they lie on the night following their birth-day ; and on that day of the week, which they call their Fetish day. Each wife usually endeavours to please her husband in order to obtain the greatest share in his affections, and she who is so happy as to be pregnant, is

sure to be waited on and respected by her husband.

The women are delivered with very little pain, even without the assistance of a midwife, and it is usual for them to go as soon as they are delivered to wash in the sea. The child is no sooner born than the Fetisher or Priest is sent for, who binds a number of cords, pieces of coral and other things about the infant's head, body, arms, and legs, which are to secure it from sickness and ill accidents, and these are all the cloaths it is to wear till it is seven or eight years old, at which age it puts on a sort of apron of half an ell of cloth. The number of females born is said greatly to exceed that of the males, which may render their having such a multitude of wives somewhat more excusable.

As the people are naturally inactive from the heat of the country, they are masters of but few manual arts; however, besides building their houses, or rather huts, making their canoes; and being skilled in managing them and in fishing; they employ themselves in the making of wooden bowls, and earthen vessels; and in forming rings and chains for the arms and legs, of gold and silver and ivory: but they are most expert at smiths work; for by means of a small pair of bellows with two or three pipes, which is entirely their own invention, they with a great stone for an anvil, make not only swords and other offensive weapons: but several instruments of agriculture, with hooks, and harping irons for fishing, and knives and tools

tools for making their canoes, the largest of which are about thirty feet long. They also make several sorts of musical instruments, the principal of which are a kind of horns made of elephants teeth ; drums made of the hollow trunk of small trees, covered at one end with sheep-skin, and a small stringed instrument resembling a harp. But they have not the least idea of letters.

What is most commendable among the Negroes, is their having no beggars ; for when one of them finds himself so poor that he perceives it difficult to procure subsistence, he binds himself for a certain sum of money ; or his friends do it for him, and the master to whom he engages himself, sets him a task that is far from being slavish ; it being chiefly to defend him in case he should be attacked, and at his leisure time to assist him in tilling the earth. But yet all the people in general, from the King to the meanest subject, freely beg whatever they like of the *Europeans*.

In sickness they have first recourse to remedies ; but not thinking them alone sufficient to preserve life and restore health, they apply to their superstitious worship, as more effectual. The physician being also the Fetisher or Priest, he easily persuades the patient's relations that he cannot be recovered without some offerings, and therefore proposes a sheep, a hog, a cock, or whatever he likes best ; but this sacrifice he always proportions to the ability of the person to be served. If the disease increases, more expensive offerings are made. It frequently

happens that one physician is discharged with a good reward, and another called in his stead; and this change of physicians sometimes happens twenty times or more successively, each of whom has the benefit of making fresh offerings, and of appropriating them, as they always do, to their own use.

Such boys as are slaves or servants to the *Europeans*, if they think they have a good master, will, on his being seized with the least indisposition, go without his knowledge to make offerings for him, that he may recover his health; and accordingly there are sometimes found on the beds, or in the chambers of the *Europeans*, things consecrated by the Fetisher, laid there to defend their master from death: but as they know that the *Europeans* are displeased with such marks of their gratitude and affection, they always do it privately, and conceal them so well, that they are seldom discovered before the person is dead, when they have not time to remove them.

The chief medicines used here are lemon or lime juice, the grains of paradise, the roots, branches and gums of trees, and about thirty sorts of herbs, impregnated with sanative virtues; and with these they sometimes perform very extraordinary cures.

When a person has breathed his last, his relations and friends set up a dismal cry, and the youth of his acquaintance now generally shew their respect by firing muskets. If the deceased be a man, his wives immediately shave their heads very close, smear their bodies with
white

white earth, put on an old worn-out garment, and run about the streets making dismal lamentations, continually repeating the name of the deceased, and the great actions of his life ; and this lasts several days successively till the corpse is interred. While the women are lamenting abroad, the nearest relations sit by the corpse making a dismal noise, and washing and cleaning themselves : the distant relations also assemble from all parts to be present at these mourning rites. The town's people and acquaintance of the deceased, come likewise to join their lamentations, each bringing his present of gold, brandy, fine cloth, sheets, or other things, to be carried to the grave with the corpse ; and the larger the present is the more does it redound to the honour of the person who makes it. During this ingress and egress of all sorts of people, brandy in the morning, and palm-wine in the afternoon are very briskly filled out ; so that the funeral of a rich Negro becomes very expensive : for after this the body is richly dressed and put into the coffin with fetishes of gold, the finest corals, and several other things of the greatest value, which it is supposed the deceased will have occasion for in the other world. After two or three days, the relations and friends being all met, the corpse is carried to the grave, followed by a number of men and women without the least order, some silent, others crying and shrieking. At the same time many young foldiers running about, load and discharge their muskets, till the deceased is laid in the ground.

The

The corpse being interred, the multitude go where they please ; but most of them return to the house to drink and be merry ; this lasts several days successively, so that every thing now rather resembles a wedding, than a time of mourning.

They sometimes keep a King, or very great person a whole year above ground, when, to prevent putrefaction, they lay the corpse upon a wooden frame like a gridiron, that stands over a very gentle clear fire, which by slow degrees dries it. When a king is to be publicly buried, notice is first given, not only to the people of his own nation, but to other countries, which brings a surprising concourse of people, and all are as richly dressed as possible. In these funerals several of the slaves of the deceased are inhumanly killed, that they may serve him in the other world, as are also those whom he has dedicated to his false gods, which are one of his wives, and one of his principal servants ; and even some poor wretches, who, through the infirmities of age, or other incidents, are rendered incapable of labour, are sold, in order to be victims in these horrid offerings, and who are put to death with every circumstance of inhumanity. With the utmost horror, says Mr. *Bosman*, I saw eleven persons killed in this manner, among whom was one, who after having endured the most exquisite tortures, was delivered to a child of six years of age, who was to cut off his head, which the boy was about an hour in performing, he not being strong enough to wield

wield the fabre. But human sacrifices are only in use among those Negroes who are not fully subject to any *European* government, and are at a distance from our forts.

The Negroes generally build a small cottage, or plant a little garden of rice on the grave, into which they put some of the goods of the deceased ; but no household furniture, as some Authors have pretended.

C H A P. III.

Of the Vegetables, Beasts, Birds, Reptiles and Insects on the Gold Coast.

OF the trees and plants of this country we have already given some account in treating of the Gold Coast in general. There are here cocoas, and palm-trees of various kinds ; the cabbage-tree, orange-trees, lemon-trees, bananas, pepper, ananas, water-melons, and many others. Among those for timber are many of an extraordinary height and size, and others of different coloured wood, fit for the finest cabinet-makers work : of the corn, there is maize, or *Indian* wheat ; but there is little rice or other corn on this coast : Among the legumenous plants are several kinds of beans, one species of which is of a bright red, and grows in pods three quarters of a yard in length, and another species grows on trees of the size of a goofberry-bush ; and among the roots, are potatoes,

potatoes, yams, and several others fit for food, as well as some used in medicine.

In the inland countries are great numbers of cows and goats ; but only a few of them are brought to the coast ; however, at *Axim*, *El Mina* and *Acra*, great herds of them are bred ; but they are so light and small, that a full grown cow does not usually weigh above 250 pounds, and both the beef and veal are very indifferent meat. There are also many sheep along the coast ; but they are dear, and not above half as big as ours : they have no wool, but that want is supplied with hair : however, these sheep are very dry and disagreeable meat. As to the goats, they are innumerable, and both fatter and more fleshy than the sheep of *Europe*, though they are exceeding small. There are likewise many hogs ; but those bred by the Negroes are extremely bad.

There are no horses on the coast ; but there are great numbers of small ordinary ones in the inland country : but the asses, which are pretty numerous on the coast, are larger, and handsomer than those horses. Among the wild beasts the elephant, on account of its size, deserves the first place. These beasts, which are here 12 or 13 feet high, are very prejudicial to the fruit-trees, especially to the orange, banana, and fig-trees, and with respect to the two last, eat both the fruit and the stem ; but though these animals are of such use in the *East Indies* both in war, and as beasts of burthen, none of them are here tamed. However,
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when unprovoked they seldom hurt any body; and it is frequently not very easy to put the elephants of this coast in a rage. Mr. *Hosman*, from whom this description of *Guinea* is chiefly taken, gives the following account: "In *December* 1700, at six in the morning an elephant came here to *El Mina*, walking easily along the shore under the hill of *St. Jago*. Some Negroes were so bold as to go to him without any thing in their hands; he suffered them to encompass him, and went quietly along with them under Mount *St. Jago*, where one of our officers shot him above the eye: but this, and the following shot, which some Negroes now poured on him, did not even make him mend his pace, and he only seemed between whiles to threaten the Negroes by pricking up his ears, which were of a prodigious size. He, however, went on, and soon entered our garden. This drew the Director General and myself thither, and we were soon followed by some of our people. He had broke down four or five cocoa-trees, and in our presence he brought down five or six more; when the strength he seemed to use in breaking down a tree, might be fitly compared to the force exerted by a man in knocking down a child of three or four years of age. While he stood here above an hundred shot were fired at him; which made him bleed as if an ox had been killed. But this did not make him stir, he only set up his ears, and made the men apprehend that he would follow them. At length a Negroe going softly behind him, wantonly
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got hold of his tail, and was going to cut off a piece of it; but the elephant giving the Negro a blow with his trunk, and drawing him to him, trod upon him two or three times, and as if that was not sufficient, gored two holes in his body with his teeth, large enough for a man's double fist to enter. He then let him lie, and even stood still while two Negroes ventured to fetch away the body, without offering to hurt them. At length the elephant, after he had been about an hour in the garden, wheeled about, as if he intended to fall on us, on which we all flew to the fore door, in order to make our escape; but he followed none of us; but going to the back door, threw it to a good distance; then turning from it, walked through the garden hedge, and proceeding slowly to the river by Mount St. Jago, bathed himself. Having thus refreshed himself a little, he came out of the river, and stood under some trees, by some of our water-tubs; where he also cooled himself, and then broke the tubs in pieces, as he did also a canoe that lay by them. The firing was here renewed till the elephant at last fell; after which they cut off his trunk, which was so hard and tough, that it cost the negroes thirty strokes before they could separate it, which must have been very painful to the elephant, since it made him roar; which was the only noise I heard him make. He was no sooner dead, than the Negroes fell on him in crowds, each cutting off as much as he could, so that he furnished great numbers with food. Those
who

who pretended to understand elephant-shooting, afterwards told us, that we ought to have shot iron bullets ; indeed our's were not only of lead but too small, and therefore most of them had rebounded from his hide, and very few penetrated his skull."

Tygers are here numerous, and of several species, some of which are very large, and they are all extremely fierce and voracious ; but happily for the natives, while they can satisfy their appetites on the flesh of brutes, they will not attack any of the human race.

The jackal is next in fierceness to the tyger, and is so bold, that it devours whatever comes in its way, whether man or beast.

There are also wild boars ; but they are very few, and not so rapacious as those of *Europe*. These are excellent meat.

There are prodigious numbers of apes, of which there are a great variety of species. The most common sort are of a pale mouse-colour, and grow to the height of five feet. Some of the Negroes are firmly persuaded that they can speak ; but that they will not for fear of being set to work. Another species is so small, that four of them put together would not weigh one of the former. There is a third sort very beautiful. Those of this species grow to the height of about two feet : their hair is as black as jet, and above a finger's length, and they have a long white beard. Besides these there are many other kinds.

There are several sorts of wild cats, among which is the civet cat. The Negroes are great lover's of dog's flesh; which they prefer to that of cattle: their dogs are very ugly, and it is remarkable, that those brought from *Euro* soon degenerate, and their ears grow long and stiff like those of foxes, and in three or four broods, their barking turns into a howl.

Among the wild beasts, there are incredible numbers of deer all along the Gold Coast, especially at *Arte* and *Acra*, where herds of an hundred together are sometimes seen. Of these there are many different species, some as large as cows, and others no bigger than cats; but all of them are good to eat, particularly a sort about two feet long, the flesh of which is esteemed very delicate. One is about four feet in length, and of a slender shape with a long head and ears, and is a beautiful creature of an orange-colour, streaked with white.

There are likewise hares and porcupines. These last, which, as well as the former, are esteemed good food, are great enemies to the snakes, and will attack the largest and most dangerous of those reptiles.

Besides these, there are several other quadrupeds, and among the rest the sloth, one of the most loathsome animals in the world, it being almost impossible to look on it without horror †.

† The Reader may see the Sloth described in Captain *Woodes Rogers's* Voyage, Chap. V. See Vol. VI. p. 171, 172.

Among the feathered tribe there are cocks and hens, those at *Axim* are fat and good, though small; but about *El Mina*, and other places on the coast, they are extremely dry and lean. There are also tame and wild ducks, pigeons, vast numbers of partridges; plenty of pheasants, snipes, herons, parrots; great numbers of large and small birds, some of which are extremely beautiful, their plumage being finely variegated with the brightest colours, and their heads crowned with tufts of feathers. There are likewise eagles, falcons, kites, and many others of the birds of *Europe*, as well as those that seem peculiarly the natives of the Torrid Zone.

Let us now take a view of the amphibious animals and reptiles: we have already observed, that the rivers swarm with crocodiles; besides these, there is an animal of nearly the same form, though it seldom exceeds four feet in length, its body is black, speckled with a round sort of eyes, and the skin is very tender. It injures neither man nor beast; it however sometimes makes great slaughter among the poultry. Its flesh is sometimes eat by the *Europeans*, and all who have tasted it agree, that it is much finer than that of a young cock or a hen.

In this class of animals we may reckon the lizards, of which there are every where many thousands, especially by the walls of the forts; and of these there are various species, differing in size, shape, and colour: there are likewise

great numbers of cameleons, which are far from living on air alone †.

Frogs and toads are as numerous as in *Europe*; but the latter are in some places as large as a pewter plate. These are mortal enemies to the snakes, with which they have frequent engagements. Of these last reptiles there are not only great numbers, but a prodigious variety, and some of them are of a hideous size. Mr. *Bosman* says, that the largest of those taken while he was on this coast was twenty feet long, and he even believes that they are still larger within land; and we have frequently found, says he, in their entrails, not only harts and other beasts, but also men ‡.

Some of my servants, says the above-mentioned Author, once going to the country beyond *Mouree*, found a snake 17 feet long, and very bulky, lying about a pit of water; near which were two porcupines, between which and the snake began a very sharp engagement, each shooting very violently in their way, the snake his venom, and the porcupines their quills of two spans in length. My men having seen this fight a considerable time, without being perceived by the furious combatants, in the heat of the battle loaded their muskets, and

† See a curious description of the Cameleon in Vol. XII. pag. 26, 27, 28.

‡ It must be confessed that this account at first sight shocks probability, and yet the concurrent testimony of many Authors of reputation render the fact indisputable.

let fly at the three champions to so good a purpose, that they killed them all, and brought them to *Mouree*, where they were devoured by them and their comrades, as very great delicacies.

Most of the snakes are venomous; but one is so to an extraordinary degree: this is scarce a yard long; it is two spans thick, and variegated with white, black and yellow. The snakes not only infest the woods, but the dwellings of the Negroes, and even the very bed-chambers within the forts.

The country also produces scorpions, millepedes of a poisonous nature; but whose sting is not so dangerous as that of the scorpions on this coast. But none of the reptiles and insects of this country appear more extraordinary than the ants. "These vermin, says the above traveller, make nests about twice the height of a man, of the earth which they turn up in the fields and hills, and sometimes build large nests on the trees, from which places they sometimes come to the forts in such prodigious swarms, that they frequently oblige us to quit our beds in the night. They are strangely rapacious, and no animal can stand before them: they have often in the night attacked one of my live sheep, and before morning have made it so perfect a skeleton that no human hands could have performed the work with such art. They serve chickens and other fowl in this manner; and the rat, notwithstanding its swiftness, cannot escape them; for as soon as one of them attacks a rat, he is inevitably gone; for attempting

tempting to run away, he is assaulted by several others, till so many fall upon him that he is over-powered. These ants are of various sizes and colours. The sting or bite of the red ant raises an inflammation that is more painful than that of the millepedes. The white are as transparent as glass, and bite with such force that in one night they will eat through a thick wooden chest of goods.

The want of flesh and necessary provisions in this country, renders it necessary for the natives to subsist principally on fish, and it seems a particular favour of providence that the sea and rivers seem to contend which shall produce the best. There are here many sorts found in *Europe*, as pike, place, flounders, bream, thornback, lobsters, crabs, prawns and shrimps; besides a great variety of excellent fish that seem peculiar to these seas.



CHAP. IV.

Of the Slave Coast of Guinea. A general Description of the Country of Whydah; with the Manners and Customs of the Natives: the Homage paid the King: the Manner of punishing those Men who have been caught with any of his Wives. The Ceremonies observed at the Funeral of a King, and those relating to Religion.

THE Slave Coast begins about *Rio Volta*, probably so called from the rapidity with which that river rushes into the sea; for being very broad a few miles within land, and narrow at its mouth, where the shore rises high, it discharges its waters with an amazing impetuosity. The country affords nothing extraordinary till we come to the Kingdom of *Whydah* †, which is one of the most delightful places in the world. The great number and variety of tall, beautiful and shady trees on the coast, seem as if they were planted in fine groves, for the sake of ornament, and are without under-wood or weeds. The verdant fields are every where cultivated, and no otherwise divided than by these groves, and by villages, each encompassed by a low mud

† This country is called *Fida* by the Dutch, *Juda* by the French, and *Whydah*, by the English, Portuguese and Natives.

wall,

wall, and regularly placed over the face of the country. In short, every thing contributes to render the prospect the most delightful that imagination can form. Not a mountain, or even an hilloc interrupts the view ; the whole country being a fine, easy, and almost imperceptible ascent, for the space of 40 or 50 miles from the sea ; so that from any part of this kingdom you may have a prospect of the ocean, and the farther you go from it, the more beautiful and populous is the country. Yet the air is extremely unhealthful with respect to foreigners.

All the fruits produced on the Gold Coast grow here, besides which there are abundance of tamarinds, citrons, and some others ; *European* seeds grow up to great perfection ; and here might be planted the finest salad gardens in the world.

The cattle are cows, sheep, goats, and hogs, all which are but little different in shape and size from those of the Gold Coast, but are more fleshy and of a more agreeable taste. There are also horses ; but they are very indifferent ones ; and farther within land, there are elephants, buffaloes, several sorts of deer, hares, and tygers. There are here also vast numbers of apes, of different kinds.

There are no other sorts of tame-fowl but a few turkeys and geese, cocks and hens, of which last there are great plenty, which tho' small are fat and good. The whole country seems covered with wild fowl, as geese, ducks, snipes,

snipes, turtle-doves, and twenty other sorts of birds that are both good and cheap.

Among all the birds in this country, there is one that has this remarkable circumstance attending it, that whenever it moults it changes its colour, so that those that are black this year, become blue or red the next; they will be yellow the following year, and afterwards green: but they never vary from these five colours, which are always very bright, and are never mixed†.

The natives are better dressed than those of the Gold Coast. The dress of the King and that of the great officers, is nearly the same. It consists in a piece of white linen about three ells long, which encompasses the waist, and hangs down to their feet like a petticoat. Upon this they wear a garment of silk of the same size and form; and over this last they have a richer piece of silk six or seven ells in length, which they tie by the two corners, and making a great bunch on the right hip, the rest hangs down to the ground so as to form a train: but none are allowed to wear red, except the royal family. They wear necklaces and bracelets of pearl, gold and coral, with chains of gold. Most of them never wear any thing on the head, to shelter them from the rain or the heat of the sun; but a few of the great put on a hat and feather.

† This and most of the following particulars relating to *Whydab*, are abridged from *Le Voyage du Chevalier des Marchais en Guinee*. Tom. II.

The common people have generally only a few herbs or a piece of cotton of the size of a napkin fastened round their waists, to cover what modesty teaches them to conceal: but the women of the same rank, have five or six cloths round the waist, the longest of which covers half the leg, and the others which are over it, are each shorter than the other.

The King's wives, and those of the grantees, are like all the others, naked from the girdle upwards, and from the girdle downwards have two or three coverings of cotton and silk, the longest of which reaches to the ankles, and the others are a little shorter. They are all very large and form a roll about the hips, that makes them seem as if they were a hoop-petticoat. They are adorned with necklaces, and with strings of pearls, gold and coral from the wrist to the elbow, and wear on their heads a cap of plaited and coloured straw which is very light, and resembles the Pope's tiara.

These people are remarkable for their civility to strangers, and the extraordinary respect they shew each other. If any of them goes to visit a superior, or meets him by chance, he immediately falls on his knees, and three times kisses the earth, and clapping his hands, wishes him a good day or night, which the superior answers only with clapping his hands, and returning the wish. The same marks of respect are paid by the younger to the elder brother; by the children to the father, and by the wives to their husbands, none of whom receive any thing from the other but on the knee,

one step of the great men and the things it lives at it by itself.



The Dido of the great Men and the Dido of the great Men at the Hydrant.



knee, with their hands joined ; or if they speak to them one hand is always put before the mouth, that their breath may not be offensive. When two persons of equal condition meet, they both fall on their knees, clap their hands, and mutually wish each other a good day ; which ceremonies are also nicely observed by their followers and dependants on each side.

But notwithstanding this servile complaisance, they are next to the *Chinese*, the most artful thieves in the world ; like them, they are extremely addicted to gaming, after having lost their whole substance, they play for their wives and children, and when they have lost them, stake their own liberty, and thus become slaves to their countrymen, who sometimes sell them to the *Europeans* ; and like the *Chinese* they are indefatigably industrious. Besides agriculture, from which the King and a few great men are only exempted, they spin cotton, weave cloths, make calabashes, wooden vessels, assagays, hardware, and several other things, which are done to greater perfection here than on the Gold Coast. While the men are thus employed, the women make a kind of beer, which they carry to market to sell, together with their husband's merchandize.

The meaner sort carry goods from the shore to the King's village, and with a burthen of a hundred pounds on their heads, they run a sort of continual trot so fast that it is difficult to keep up with them, without any load at all.

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Those who are very rich, besides husbandry, in which their wives and slaves are employed under them, drive a very considerable trade, not only in slaves, but in many other commodities.

These slaves are generally prisoners of war, which are sold by the victors as their booty. When these slaves come to *Whydab*, they are put in prison all together, and are afterwards brought out into a large plain to be sold to the *Europeans*, who before they purchase them, examine every limb with the greatest care. The invalids and maimed being thrown out, the remainder are numbered. In the mean while a burning-iron with the arms or name of the companies lies in the fire, and with this iron the *English*, *French*, and *Dutch* brand these poor unhappy wretches both men and women, to prevent their being exchanged. After this they are returned to their prison, where they are kept at the charge of those who have bought them, on bread and water, till they are ready to be taken on board, before which their former masters strip them entirely naked; in which condition they are stowed in the holds of the ships, and carried to *America*, where they are again sold to the planters in the *European* colonies. I gladly drop this dreadful commerce, so inconsistent with *Christianity*, and so dishonourable to human nature.

It is remarkable that the natives of *Whydab* are so expert in accounts, that they reckon very considerable sums as quick, and as justly by the head alone, as we do with the assistance of pen and

and ink, which makes it very easy to trade with them, and not half so troublesome as it is to deal with other Negroes.

A plurality of wives is here carried to a greater length, than on the Gold Coast, or perhaps in any country in the world, so that if the females do not vastly exceed the males in number, it is evident that multitudes of the latter must for ever be excluded from marriage. It is said that private men have often forty or fifty; that their chief Captains have 3 or 400. and the King as many thousands. These wives may be considered as only so many slaves, and indeed the greatest part of them are probably captives, who happen to please their masters, who therefore rather chuse to keep them, than to sell them to the *Europeans*. The chief part of them till the ground for their husbands, while the most beautiful stay at home, where they are not excused from working; but the men are so extremely jealous of them, that on the least suspicion they sell them to the *Europeans*. On the Gold Coast, it is common for the husband to share with his wife the profits of her prostitution; but here adultery is punished with death, and if the person injured be a rich man, the crime is sufficient to plunge his whole family into slavery.

There are several classes among the King's wives. She who has brought forth the first male infant is at the head of the first. This is the Queen, or as they term her, the King's great wife. All the others treat her with respect, all in the seraglio are under her command.

mand, and she has no superior but the King's mother, whose credit is greater or less according to the degree of his Majesty's affection for her, or her power of managing him. She is properly of no class; she has a separate apartment in the palace, slaves of her own sex to wait upon her, and revenues for her support. When she has great credit with her son, she receives many presents from those who stand in need of her protection; but she is obliged to live in a state of celibacy, and is not allowed to marry again.

If a man accidentally touches any part of the body of one of the King's wives, his head, or at least his liberty is forfeited, she is defiled, and being unfit to return to the palace, both are doomed to perpetual slavery. Hence the King is entirely served by his wives, and no man is permitted to enter the apartment inhabited by them; and when any of them go to work in the fields, which they do by hundreds, whenever they see a man they call out *Stand clear*, on which he immediately falls on his knees, or flat on the ground, and thus waits for their passing by, without presuming so much as to look at them. The King on the least disgust sells 18 or 20 of them; but this does not lessen their number; for the officers to whom the government of the seraglio is intrusted, supply their places with fresh ladies; and whenever they see a beautiful virgin, they present her to the King, none daring to oppose them; and if a lady happens to please his Majesty, he does her the honour to lie with her two or three times,
after

after which she is obliged to pass the remainder of her life like a Nun : which in this country is considered by the women as a most dreadful punishment.

Upon the father's death the eldest son inherits not only all his goods and cattle ; but his wives, which he keeps and enjoys as his own ; excepting only his own mother, for whom he provides a separate apartment, and sufficient subsistence. This custom prevails both among the great and the commonalty.

The kingdom of *Hydah* is hereditary ; the eldest son succeeding his father, unless the great have some extraordinary reasons for excluding him, and placing the crown on the head of one of his brothers, as was the case in the year 1725. The King's eldest son is therefore presumptive heir of the crown ; but then he must have been born after the King's accession ; for those he had before he ascended the throne, are only considered as private persons.

But they have here a custom that is much more extraordinary ; tho' it is a law never to be violated. The successor is no sooner born, than he is carried by the great men into the province of *Zingua* on the frontiers of the kingdom, where he is educated as a private person, without knowing his birth, or having the least knowledge of state affairs. None of the great are allowed to visit or receive visits from him. He is to continue at *Zingua* under the care of a private man, who tho' he is intrusted with the secret of his birth, he is not to reveal it to him on pain of death, and is to treat him in

the same manner as if he was his own son. Thus on his ascending the throne, knowing neither the interests nor the maxims of the state, he is obliged to abandon the government to the management of the great, and their successors ; for their posts are hereditary, and the eldest son always succeeds them.

The state of abasement and ignorance, from which the presumptive heir of the crown is thus raised, makes him long sensible of the pleasure of royalty, when he sees himself thus unexpectedly placed on the throne. Indeed that moment is no sooner arrived than he is no longer considered as a man ; he becomes in an instant a kind of deity, who is never approached, but with the most profound reverence. As soon as a person is arrived at the gate of the hall of audience, he prostrates himself on the earth, and advances, creeping on his hands and knees, till he comes within a certain distance of the throne, and the King allows him to speak by gently clapping his hands. He then utters what he has to say in a low voice, and in few words, with his face towards the earth. Nobody is exempt from this inconvenient and humbling ceremonial ; the greatest Lords in the Kingdom are subject to it, as well as the others, and none but the chief Captain of the Seraglio, and the High Priest can enter the palace without leave ; but if they speak to the King, they, as well as the others, are obliged to do it in the above posture.

When

When one of the great men would speak to the King, and has obtained his permission, he goes to the palace, attended by all his men in arms, and with drums, trumpets and flutes. When he arrives at the gate of the hall of audience, his men make a general discharge of their muskets, the drums, flutes and trumpets strike up, and all the men shout aloud. In this manner he enters into the first court, and there strips off all his cloaths, and hides his nakedness with herbs put round his waist; he also takes off his bracelets, necklaces, rings, and in general all his jewels. In this condition he proceeds to the hall of audience, where he prostrates himself, advances creeping to the foot of the throne, speaks with his face towards the earth, and when his audience is ended, retires, creeping backward, without changing the posture he took in entering. On his rejoining his men who wait for him in the court, he dresses and puts on his ornaments, and the King is informed of his departure by the firing of guns, the sound of the instruments of music, and the loud cries of joy uttered by his people.

The King never comes to the hall of audience but when the directors of the companies, or his great men have affairs to communicate to him, and are to receive his orders, or when he would administer justice to his subjects. He passes the rest of his time in his seraglio, accompanied by his women, six of whom stay with him; these are magnificently adorned, and kneel before him with their heads almost

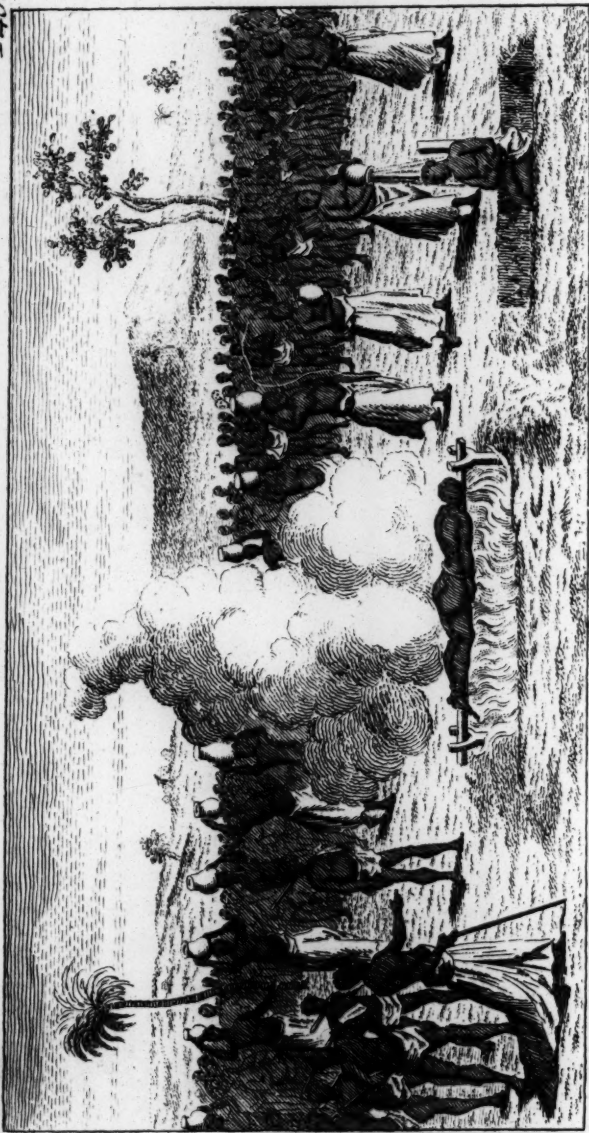
touching the floor. In this posture they entertain and endeavour to divert him ; they dress him, and wait upon him at the table ; and use every art to render themselves beloved. When he would be alone with one of his wives, he touches her slightly, and gently claps his hands : immediately the five others retire, and having shut the door of the room where the King remains with their companion, they keep it, till the happy woman leaves it. Then six others take the places of the former, and thus they relieve each other.

The King's palace is now plentifully provided with *European* furniture, while the great men and rich merchants in this respect endeavour to furnish their houses in the same manner. They have magnificent beds, easy chairs, canopies, looking-glasses, and in a word, every thing fit to adorn a house in that climate. There are here cooks instructed by those of *France*, so that when an entertainment is given to an *European*, he finds the tables of the Negro Lords served with as many delicacies as those of *Europe*. Wine is brought them from *Spain*, the *Canaries*, *Madeira*, and *France* ; they are also supplied with brandy, sweetmeats, tea, coffee and chocolate ; and their tables shew no remains of their ancient simplicity. They are covered with fine linen, and they have vessels of silver, and services of china. But this politeness is confined to the great and the wealthy, the common people preserving their ancient manner.

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The Punishment of Adultery with one of the Kings Wives.

Notwithstanding the servility with which the King is treated by his subjects, when the Directors of companies or the Captains wait upon him, he receives them in the hall of audience, causes easy chairs to be brought them; and even drinks and smokes with them.

We have already observed that the people are extremely jealous, and that adultery is punished with death: but if a man is surprized with one of the King's wives nothing can save them; the King himself pronounces sentence against them on the spot. The officers of the palace instantly cause two pits to be dug, six or seven feet long, four broad, and five deep, so near together that the criminals may see and speak to each other. In one of these pits a post is fixed, to which the woman is fastened with her hands tied behind her. Two wooden forks are fixed at the end of the other pit, and the man being stripped naked, is fastened to a great iron bar like a spit, with iron chains, in such a manner that he cannot move. The King's wives then bring faggots, which they put into the pit, and before they are lighted, the spit to which the man is fastened, is put upon the two forks, and fire is put to the wood in such a manner, that only the extremity of the flames can reach his body. He is thus left to burn by a slow fire; a cruel punishment that would last for a long time, had they not the charity to turn him with his face downwards: in which situation he is soon stifled by the smoke. When he no longer gives any sign of life, they undo the chains, and
letting

letting him fall into the pit, cover him with earth.

The man being dead, about 50 or 60 of the King's wives escorted by a party of musketeers, and accompanied with drums and flutes, come from the palace with each a large earthen pot of scalding water on her head, which they pour one after another on the head of the poor wretch who is tied to the post, and afterwards throw the pots on her head with all their force. Dead or not, all the water, and all the pots that come from the palace are thrown on the body of this unhappy woman ; after which, whether she be still alive or dead, they cut the cords that fasten her to the post, pull that up, and bury her in the pit, under a heap of earth and stones.

When the wife of a great man is taken in adultery, he may either sell her to the *European*, or put her to death : if he chuses the latter, he causes her head to be cut off, or has her strangled by the public executioner, and is acquitted by informing the King of what he has done, and paying the executioner's fee. But as he has no power over the man who has dishonoured him, unless he catches him in the very act, in which case he kills them both, he is obliged to demand justice of the King, who never fails to condemn the guilty to suffer death.

This severity is only inflicted with respect to married women. The unmarried are not subject to it, and a man runs no danger in being caught with one of them ; for nobody has any fault to find with him, because she is supposed

to

to be her own mistress. It is so far from being infamous for her to have children before marriage, that she is sure this will cause her to be sooner married; because it is a proof of her fruitfulness, which is a very important consideration in a country where the fathers consider children, especially the males, as the greatest riches, and the support of their families: and it must be observed, that they never sell their own children for slaves.

When the King of *Whydah* is dead, the Queen, or great wife of the deceased, lets the grandees know it, who are obliged to keep his death secret for three months, during which they assemble in order to consult whether the King's eldest son be worthy to ascend the throne. This term being expired, the King's death is made public, on which every thing falls into confusion: law, policy, justice, seem to have expired with the King, and the most dreadful disorders are committed: but this state of confusion lasts only five days; during which, the Prince is sought for who is to fill the throne, and is put in possession of the palace. A number of great guns are now fired to inform the people that they have a King, and immediately tranquillity and good order are restored; the markets are open, and every body applies to business.

It being customary to pull down the palace in which the King dies, within three months after his death another is built, to which the new King is brought with all the wives belonging to his father, which now become his. None
but

but the mother of the deceased, and that of the reigning King being exempt from this law.

The new King immediately orders the funeral of the late Monarch, by causing five cannon to be fired at break of day, five at noon, and five at sun-set. The noise of the last is followed by dreadful cries and howlings, which resound through the whole palace. The High Priest, who superintends the funeral, causes a pit to be dug fifteen feet square and five deep, in the middle of which they hollow out a vault eight feet square, in the centre of which the King's body is placed with great ceremony. The High Priest then chuses eight of the favourite wives of the deceased to go and serve him in the other world. Being dressed in their richest apparel, and loaded with provisions; which they are to carry to the late King, they are conducted to the vault in which they are shut up alive, and left there to perish: but their death is speedy, they being soon covered with earth.

After the death of these women they bring the men, who are also to go and serve the late King, the number of whom is not fixed, it depending on the will of the present Monarch and the High Priest. As it is not known on whom the lot will fall, his late Majesty's domestics endeavour to fly or hide themselves, and do not appear till four or five days after the ceremony is over. They are then reproached with having eaten the King's bread while he was living, and with receiving an infinite
number

number of favours from him, and yet wanting the gratitude to accompany him into the other world. To this they usually reply, that the thoughts of death are dreadful, and that being of an age capable of enjoying the pleasures of life, they could not think of quitting it so soon. With such excuses they obtain pardon, and are entered into the service of the new King, promising that if he happens to die, they will be more faithful to him.

Among all the officers or domestics of the King who must infallibly follow him to the other world, his favourite is the principal. The person who is honoured with this title has no particular office in the palace; he is not even permitted to enter it: when he has any favour to ask, he must address himself to the High Priest, who makes known his requests to the Prince, who always grants them immediately. He has a right to take out of the market whatever pleases him. He is dressed in a long robe with large sleeves, and wears a hood, it may be of white linen, silk or *Indian* stuff, adorned with flowers; and when he appears in public, holds a cane in his hand. He is treated with great respect, and exempted from the payment of all taxes. He lives a happy life; but it ends with that of the King; for nothing can dispense with his accompanying his master into the other world, and he is the first who loses his head, after the King's favourites are smothered in the cave. All the other men who were destined to serve the late King, have also their heads cut off, and according

cording to the High Priest's order, their bodies are laid down, or placed sitting, with their heads beside them, and buried about the cave of the King.

When all the bodies are covered up, they raise above them a great heap of earth, which terminates in a pyramid, at the top of which they place the arms which the King was accustomed to use, and surround them with a number of Fetishes, or little earthen figures, that are the tutelar deities to guard them.

Those would be very much to blame who should accuse the Negroes of *Whydah* of having no religion: they practise circumcision, but this does not here seem to be a religious rite, for they know no better reason for it, than its being practised by their fathers and grandfathers, who learned it from their ancestors; and that they ought therefore to follow their example.

The most sensible men of *Whydah* have a confused idea of the existence, and unity of God; whom they suppose to be in heaven, and say, that he rewards the good, and punishes the wicked, and that it is he who makes the thunder roll in the sky: but imagining that it would be presumption in them to address their petitions to him, they have several inferior deities, and besides the Fetishes, which they have in common with the Negroes on the Gold Coast, they have four principal objects of religious worship; the serpent, which holds the first rank; the trees, which are of the second class; the sea; which is only in third rank, and *Agoya*, who is the god of counsels. The

The worship of the serpent is accounted for in the following manner : the people of *Whydah* being ready to give battle to the King of *Ardrak*, a neighbouring nation, a great serpent came from the enemy's army, to surrender itself to that of *Whydah*, and appeared so gentle, that far from biting, it fawned upon every body ; which the High Priest observing, ventured to take it in his hands, and to hold it up on high, to shew it the whole army ; who being astonished at the prodigy, prostrated themselves before the harmless animal, and then fell upon the enemy with such courage, that they gained a complete victory. This the soldiers attributed to the serpent. They carried it away with them, built a house for it, brought it provisions, and in a little time the new god eclipsed all the others, even the Fetishes, which were the first, and the most ancient gods of the country ; and its worship encreased in proportion to the imaginary favours they supposed they had received from it ; thus it did not long remain in the first house they had built for it ; they erected a more sumptuous one, with many courts, and spacious lodgings. They appointed it a High Priest, and an entire order of Marabouts to serve it. But this was not all, they dedicated to it the most beautiful women, and that it might never want servants, chose new ones every year.

It is remarkable that the most sensible Negroes, very gravely assert, that the serpent they now worship is really that which came to their ancestors, and gave them the celebrated victory that delivered them from the oppressions of the King of *Ardrak*. The posterity of this serpent

have multiplied extremely, and have not degenerated from the good qualities of their father. They do no injury to any one; but suffer the people to place them in their bosoms, to put them about their necks, and into their beds. The only resentment they shew is against the venomous serpents, which they always endeavour to destroy: and there is no danger of the people's mistaking one for the other. These last are all black, and resemble vipers; they are four yards long, and an inch and a half in diameter; but the beneficent serpent is not commonly above seven feet and a half in length, but it is of the thickness of a man's leg. It has a large round head, and a pointed tail. Its skin is very beautiful, it being of a whitish colour, marked in waves very agreeably with yellow, blue and brown.

The people esteem themselves happy when one of these honours their house with its presence: they give it a bed, and if it be a female with young, they make her a little house, to which she retires to bring them forth, and when she or her young want food, they fetch it them till they are big enough to take care of themselves. The person that should kill one of them would suffer a cruel death.

Every body knows that serpents or snakes multiply extremely, and that they live for a long time: one would therefore imagine, that the earth would be covered with them: but the black serpents give them no quarter, and without respect to their divinity, kill and eat them: the swine do the same, and this diminishes

nishes their number; but it always costs the life of those animals when they are caught in the fact; nothing can hinder a hog from being immediately put to death; the people have no respect to those to whom they belong; for though they are the King's they are killed on the spot, and their flesh belongs to those who slaughter them.

The serpent of *Whydah*, from which all the others of the same species are said to be descended is worshipped in his house or temple, upon every occasion: therefore the offerings and sacrifices made to him are not confined to bulls and rams, to loaves of bread, fruit, or a few gold rings. The High Priest often prescribes a considerable quantity of valuable merchandize, barrels of bougies*, powder, brandy, hecatombs of bulls, sheep, fowl, and sometimes even human sacrifices are offered to his honour. All this depends on the fancy and avarice of the Priest.

The Marabouts or Priests of the grand serpent are of one family, of which the High Priest, who is one of the grandees, is the chief. All the other Marabouts receive his orders, and pay obedience to him. But besides the men and women of this family a number of girls are consecrated to the serpent, which procures them universal respect, and confers upon them many

* These are the same with the shells called cowries, vulgarly termed blackmoor's teeth, which are brought from the *Maldiva* islands, and on the coast of *Guinea* pass for small money.

extraordinary privileges, one of which is a right to tyrannize over their husbands, when they can find a man such a fool as to marry one of them.

But to proceed to the other deities : *Agaya*, or the god of counsels, is consulted by the people before they undertake any thing. This god is a paltry little idol of black earth, which rather resembles a mishapen monster than any thing else. It is represented seated or crouching on a kind of pedestal of red earth, on which there is a piece of red cloth, adorned with cowries, and he has about his neck a scarlet band, to which hang four cowries. His head is crowned with lizards, serpents and red feathers. This idol is placed on a table in the High Priest's house, with three callabashes before him, in which are fifteen or twenty balls of earth. Those who would consult him, address themselves to a Marabout, tell him the subject that brought them thither, give him the offering designed for the god, and the price of consulting him, after which the question is determined by throwing the balls from one callabash into another a certain number of times, when if there be an odd number in each, the Marabout boldly pronounces that the oracle has declared in his favour, and the man may undertake the affair on which he has consulted the god.

When the sea is agitated in an extraordinary manner, so that merchandize can neither be embarked, nor brought ashore, they consult the High Priest, and by his advice sacrifice a bull
or

or a sheep on the bank of the sea, suffering the blood to run into the water, and throw a gold ring into the waves, as far as they are able. The ring and blood are lost ; but the body of the sacrificed beast belongs to the Priest, who causes it to be carried to his house.

It costs less to render the trees favourable. It is commonly the sick that have recourse to them, who make them an offering of millet, maize or rice, which the Marabout places at the foot of the tree to which the sick man pays his devotions.

CHAP. V.

*A concise Description of the Kingdom of Ardrah, on the Slave Coast of Guinea ; with the Customs and Manners of the Inhabitants.**

THE Kingdom of *Ardrah*, is but of small extent on the coast, where the Kingdoms of *Whydah* and *Popo* are taken out of it. It reaches only 25 leagues along the shore ; but within land it extends from east to west from the river *Volta* to that of *Benin*, which is above 60 leagues, and it reaches still farther from north to south.

The manners, customs and religion of these people are in some respects the same as those of *Whydah*, except their not worshipping the

* Extracted from the *Sieur d'Elbée*.

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serpent. On the contrary, they search for the tame and gentle serpents, in order to kill and eat them.

However, the people here offer up neither prayers nor sacrifices. They seem to have no idea of another life, and only dread the accidents that may render this life unhappy. The great Marabout appoints for every family the Fetishes they are to honour, in order to secure themselves from these misfortunes. The Fetishes of the King and the court are certain black birds almost like the crows of *Europe*. With these the gardens of the palace are filled, and they are fed as well, though they are not treated with the same respect, as the serpents of *Whydah*.

Private persons have for their Fetishes some a mountain, others a tree, a stone, a piece of wood, or any other inanimate substance, which they regard with a kind of respect; but as we have already observed, offer no prayers to them.

The great Marabout has in every town a house to which he invites by turns the wives of all the freemen, to learn some religious exercises. They stay there five or six months, and are instructed by old women in a sort of singing and dancing. They make them enter by bands, which succeed each other day and night, in a hall appointed for that purpose, and after having tied small irons and brass plates to their legs and feet, in order that they may make the greater noise, they dance and sing with all their force. This dance consists of
stamping

stamping and performing all the agitations and motions of the body that are most fatiguing, and most difficult to support. They accompany it with a song, mixed with cries and howling, performed in cadence, and continue this violent exercise till they faint away, when in an instant their old mistresses substitute another set of scholars in the room of those who are out of breath, who begin the same dance, the same song, and the same cries, to the great disturbance of the neighbourhood.

The *Sieur d'Elbée*, who was there in 1670, observes, that in the great Marabout's house he saw a figure made to represent the devil, which was of the size of a child of four years of age, and painted white; and he asserting that the devil was black, the Marabout gravely replied, that he was mistaken, for he was sure he was very white, for he had seen and spoke to him several times.

The above gentleman found at *Assém* some Negroes who were *Christians*, and came to ask him for chaplets of beads, and to ask if he would not order mass to be said in his apartment. It is probable that these Negroes had been baptized by the *Portuguese* while they were established in the kingdom.

All the men of rank wear two short petticoats of taffety or other silk, and have silk scarfs in the form of shoulder-belts. Most of them go with their heads and feet naked; they may, however, wear bonnets or hats, and sandals, except in the King's palace. The men of the common rank are covered from the
girdle

girdle to the knees with a piece of serge, that goes twice round them, the ends wrapping over at the navel. The poor and those who gain their living by their labour, have only a small piece of cotton cloth, or some grass to cover their nudities, and have the head and feet naked.

The women of rank have petticoats and scarfs like the men, and as they seldom leave their houses, they commonly wear nothing on their heads and feet. The poor women have short cloths tied about their waists, and have their heads and feet always naked.

The city of *Affen*, the capital of the kingdom is surrounded by four walls of earth which are very high and thick. This earth is red and forms a substance as firm and even as plaster, though it does not appear to be mixed with lime. Each wall has a large and deep ditch, not on the outside but within it, and over these ditches are wooden bridges.

The palace when Mr. *d'Elbee* was there*, was very large and composed of many great courts, entirely surrounded with porticos, above which were apartments, that had small windows. In some of these chambers the floor was covered with large *Turkey* carpets, and in others with mats. A single easy chair was in each room, and they were likewise furnished

* This country has been since ravaged by the King of *Dabomey*, who in 1724, made a conquest both of *Whydab* and *Ardrah*, which has probably produced some considerable changes.

with screens, chests, cabinets and porcelain brought from *China*. There was no glass in the windows but only frames of white linen, and taffety curtains. The gardens were very spacious, and consisted of long vistas of thick trees, to afford a cool and shady retreat.

The King always eats alone, and when he drinks an officer makes a signal with two small rods of iron, in order that all who are within sight may turn away and not look at his Majesty: for seeing him drink is thought a crime worthy of death. The very officer who presents the glass is said to turn his body and head, and to present it backward. This they say is done to prevent the effects of sorcery at that moment.

The King is always served on the knee, and this respect is shewn even to the provisions set on his table. Those who happen to be in the way of the officers who carry them, prostrate themselves with their faces to the earth, and dare not raise them up, till the dishes are out of sight.

The commerce of the state consists only in slaves and provisions: these slaves are of several kinds; some are prisoners of war, others are paid to the state by the neighbouring kingdoms, dependant on that of *Adrah*. Some are condemned to be sold for slaves, for having violated the laws of their country. Some are slaves by birth, as are the children of all slaves; and there are others who not being able to pay their debts, are sold for the benefit of their creditors. Those who have disobeyed the King's orders

orders are inevitably condemned to suffer death, and their wives and kindred, to a certain degree, become slaves to the King, who sells them to whom he pleases.

The common people can neither read nor write, they therefore in buying and selling make use of cords tied in knots, each of which has a particular signification. These knots are in use among many of the Savages of *America*. But the great understand the *Portuguese* tongue, which they read and write very well.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Kingdom of Great Benin. A Description of the City of Benin and of the King's Palace: with the Religion, Customs, and Manners of the Inhabitants.

ABOUT fifty miles east of *Ardrab* are situated the cape and river of *Formosa*, otherwise called *Benin*, from the kingdom of *Great Benin* on its banks. The country by the sides of this river, is very unhealthful, and pestered with musketoos, which are very troublesome to the *Europeans*, who have had factories in three villages up the river.

The natives seem very civil to each other; and at the same time are prudent and reserved, especially in the management of their trade, always pretending to be poorer than they really are,

are, in order to escape the rapacious hands of their Governors.

The habit of the Negroes is neater and more ornamental than that of the Negroes on the Gold Coast. The rich wear a white callico or cotton cloth, about a yard long, and half a yard broad, which serves them for drawers. Over this they wear a finer white cotton dress, which is commonly 16 or 20 yards long, this is wrapp'd about them; over this is a scarf, about a yard long, and two spans broad, the end of which is adorned with fringe or lace. In these cloaths they appear abroad; but at home they wear a coarse cloth about their waists instead of drawers; and above all a great painted cloth, of the manufacture of the country, which they wear like a cloak. The meaner sort are dressed in the same manner, only the stuff they wear is coarser.

The wives of the great Lords wear fine callico cloths round their waists, handsomely chequered with several colours. The upper part of the body is covered with a beautiful cloth about a yard long. Their necks are adorned with necklaces of coral, very agreeably disposed; their arms are dressed up with bright copper, or iron bracelets; as are also the legs of some of them; and their fingers are as thick crowded with copper rings as they can possibly wear them. The meaner sort differ from the rich only in the goodness of their cloaths.

Almost all the children go naked; the boys till they are ten or twelve years old, and the girls till nature discovers their maturity: till then they

they wear only strings of coral twisted about their middles, which are not sufficient to hide their nudities.

The men let their hair grow in its natural form, except buckling it in two or three places, in order to hang a great coral to it ; but the women's hair is artfully turned up into great and small buckles, and divided at the crown of the head like a cock's comb inverted, by which means the small curls are placed in exact order. Some divide their hair into twenty plaits and curls.

The King is an absolute Monarch, his will being a law. Next to him are three great Lords, to whom all must address themselves who want to apply to his Majesty ; but as they are sure to inform him only of what they themselves please, the whole administration of the government depends on them. Next to these are the *Are de Roe*, or street Kings, some of whom preside over the commonalty, others over the slaves ; some over military affairs, and others over the affairs relating to the cattle, and the fruits of the earth, &c.

From these *Are de Roes* are chosen the Vice-roys and Governors of the countries subject to the King ; who are recommended by the three great Lords, and are responsible to them. The King presents each of them a string of coral, as a mark of their honour : but this string they are obliged to wear about their necks, without ever daring to put it off on any account whatsoever, and if they are so unhappy as to lose it, or carelessly suffer it to be stolen, they are certainly

tainly condemned to die. The King keeps these corals, which are factitious, in his own possession ; and the counterfeiting, or having any of them, without his grant, is punished with death. They are made of a sort of pale red earth or stone, and are so well glazed, that they look like speckled marble.

The King has a great revenue ; for his territories are very large. He keeps his court in the city of *Benin*, whence the river and the whole kingdom derives its name. This city is of great extent, and the streets are very long and broad : and besides are kept very clean and neat, every woman cleaning her own door. Formerly it was closely built, and in a manner overstock'd with inhabitants, but half the houses are now in ruins. Those that are still standing are large and tolerably handsome but are built with clay walls, there not being a stone in the whole country as big as a man's fist. They are covered at the top with reeds, straw or leaves. Markets are kept every day in the streets, either of corn, cotton, elephants teeth, or *European* wares, but the inhabitants are all natives, foreigners being not permitted to live there.

The palace which forms a principal part of the city, is built upon a large plain, and has no houses joining to it. The first place you come to is a very long gallery, (if it may be called by that name,) sustained by 58 strong planks, about twelve feet high, instead of pillars ; these are neither sawed nor plained ; but only hack'd out. On passing this gallery, you come to a mud wall that has three gates, at each

corner one, and one in the middle ; this last is adorned on the top with a wooden turret, about 60 or 70 feet high, ornamented on the top with a large copper snake, well cast. Entering one of these gates, you come into a large square, almost a quarter of a mile over, and enclosed by a low wall, at the opposite side of which you come to another kind of gallery, which has a gate at each end ; and passing thro' one of them, a third gallery appears, differing from the former only in the planks which support it, that have some little resemblance to human figures, but wretchedly executed. Going thro' a gate of this gallery you enter another great square, and a fourth gallery, beyond which is the King's dwelling house, where is another brazen snake. The first apartment is the King's audience chamber, where he sits on an ivory couch, under a canopy of *Indian* silk ; this room is adorned with seven elephant's teeth, made perfectly clean, and placed on ivory pedestals.

As to the religion of the inhabitants of *Benin*, they ascribe to God the attributes of omnipresence, omniscience, and invisibility, and say that he governs all things by his providence ; but like the other Negroes on this coast, they offer up their petitions to things consecrated for that purpose, as elephant's teeth, and the like ; and yet they think it absurd to make any corporeal representation of the Deity. They make daily offerings of a few boiled yams, mix'd with oil, which they lay before their subordinate deities ; and sometimes they offer a cock ;
but

but then the idol has only the blood ; because they like the flesh themselves. They are said to observe a kind of sabbath every fifth day, on which the great sacrifice cows, sheep and goats, while the commonalty kill dogs, cats, and chickens ; and of whatever is killed large portions are distributed to the necessitous, in order to enable them to celebrate this festival. They have a great feast in *May*, called the coral feast, which is the only time when the King appears publicly. On this occasion, he comes magnificently dressed to the second square of the palace, where he is seated under a fine canopy, his wives and great officers placing themselves around him. Soon after they begin a procession, and the King rises in order to offer sacrifices, during which he is saluted with the loud acclamations of the people. In about a quarter of an hour the King returns to his place, where he stays about two hours, in order to give the people time to perform their devotions ; which being done, he returns home. The remainder of the day is spent in feasting, and the King causes all sorts of provisions to be distributed to all in common, and the great follow his example : so that on that day nothing is seen throughout the whole city, but all possible marks of rejoicing. The reason of this festival is unknown.

One day in the year they have likewise an expensive festival in honour of their deceased ancestors.

The men marry as many women as their circumstances will allow them to keep ; they

have scarce any marriage ceremonies among either rich or poor, except only, that the first treat the bride's friends more splendidly than the others. They are very jealous of their wives with their own countrymen, but place greater confidence in the *Europeans*; for they suffer the latter freely to converse with them; but no Negroe is allowed to come near the women's apartment. All the difference between the wives of the great and those of the meaner sort, is, that the former are always shut up very close; while the latter go every where.

Adultery is here punished different ways: If one of the commonalty surprizes his wife in the fact, he may lawfully seize all the effects of the paramour, which he may immediately apply to his own use. While he punishes his wife with a cudgel; and then turns her out of doors to seek her fortune. The rich revenge themselves the same way; but the women's relations, to avoid the scandal that might fall upon the family, reconcile the injured husband by giving him a good sum of money, to induce him to restore her again to favour. But if the Governors surprize a person debauching their wives, they kill both on the spot, and then throw out their dead bodies, that they may become a prey to the wild beasts.

If a woman bears two children at a birth, it is believed to be a good omen, and the King is immediately informed of it, who causes the public joy to be expressed by all sorts of music. This is the case in all the territories of *Benin*, except at *Arebo*, where both the woman and the
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the twins are cruelly sacrificed to a certain dæmon which they suppose inhabits a wood near the town. But if the man happens to have an extraordinary affection for his wife, he generally buys a female slave, and sacrifices her in her stead. At present the men, when the time of their wives delivery approaches, send them to another place where this inhuman custom is not observed.

When the child is seven days old, the parents make a small feast, imagining that the infant is past its greatest danger; and in order to prevent the evil spirits doing it any mischief, they strew all the ways with provisions ready dressed, in order to appease them.

Eight or fourteen days after the birth of their children both males and females are circumcised; the former are bereft of the prepuce, and the latter of a small part of the clitoris; besides they make small incisions all over the bodies of the infants, in a sort of regular manner, expressing some figures; and notwithstanding the cruelty of thus torturing the poor innocents, this custom is universally observed among the inhabitants of *Benin*.

If they fall sick they have immediately recourse to the Priest, who here, as well as on the Gold Coast, acts the physician. If his remedies prove ineffectual, he has recourse to sacrifices, and if the patient recovers is much esteemed. But the Priests are here generally poor, because on common occasions each person offers his own sacrifice, and performs the service of his idols, without troubling them.

The cattle and productions of the country are much the same as in the other parts of *Guinea*, only the country contains great numbers of elephants, and lions, as well as tygers.

When any person dies, the corpse is washed and cleaned, and if a native of *Benin* happens to die at a very distant place, the body is perfectly dried up over a gentle fire, and put into a coffin, whose planks are close joined with glue, and brought the first opportunity to that city, in order to be buried. The nearest relations, wives and slaves, go into mourning for the deceased; some shave their beards, others half their heads. The public mourning commonly lasts fourteen days. Their lamentations and cries are accommodated to the tunes of several musical instruments; with large intermediate stops, during which they drink very plentifully. When the funeral is over, each person retires to his own house, and the nearest relations, who continue in mourning, in this manner bewail the dead, during several months.

Their musical instruments chiefly consist of large and small drums not very different from those of the Gold Coast: they have besides a sort of iron bells on which they play; and callabashes hung round with cowries, that serve them instead of castagnets; all which together afford a very disagreeable and jarring sound. Besides these they have a kind of harp, strung with six or seven extended reeds, upon which they play with much art; at the same time they sing to it very agreeably, and dance in such a just manner as is very diverting.

The

The natives here are not at all addicted to gaming ; for they only play for diversion ; but never for money.

They divide the time into years, months, weeks, and days ; and reckon fourteen months in the year.

They are entirely ignorant of the art of war ; and it is with the greatest reluctance they are brought to face an enemy. Their weapons are a sort of hangers, small poniards, assagays, bows and poisoned arrows. They have light shields made of small bamboos, but as they cannot ward off a forcible blow, they are of little service.

They are well skilled in making several sorts of dyes, as green, blue, red, yellow and black. The blue they prepare from indigo ; but the other colours they extract from certain trees. They spin cotton, and weave cotton cloths in such quantities, that many thousand pieces are exported every year. Besides weaving, they have few mechanical arts ; their other workmen are mostly smiths, carpenters, and leather-dressers ; but their workmanship is so clumsy, that an ingenious boy who had been but a month or two learning in *Europe* would excel them ; tho' perhaps the masters themselves might be unable to outdo them, had they only their tools.

If possessed of wealth, the people live well ; their common diet being beef, mutton and chickens, with yams for bread ; which, after they have boiled they beat very fine, in order to make cakes of it. They frequently
treat

treat one another, and generously impart a portion of their superfluity to the necessitous. The meaner sort content themselves with smoked or dried fish: their bread is also yams, bananas, and beans, and their drink water and pardon wine, which is none of the best.

The King, and the great Lords, and every Governor, who is but indifferently rich, subsist several poor at their residence; employing those who are fit for any work, and charitably supporting those incapable of labour without working; so that there are here no beggars, nor do we find any among them remarkably poor. They shew their liberality by mutual presents of all sorts of goods which they send to each other: and likewise shew their hospitality by giving the *Europeans* prodigious quantities of refreshing provisions.





T R A V E L S

Into the Inland Parts of

A F R I C A.

BY

FRANCIS MOORE.

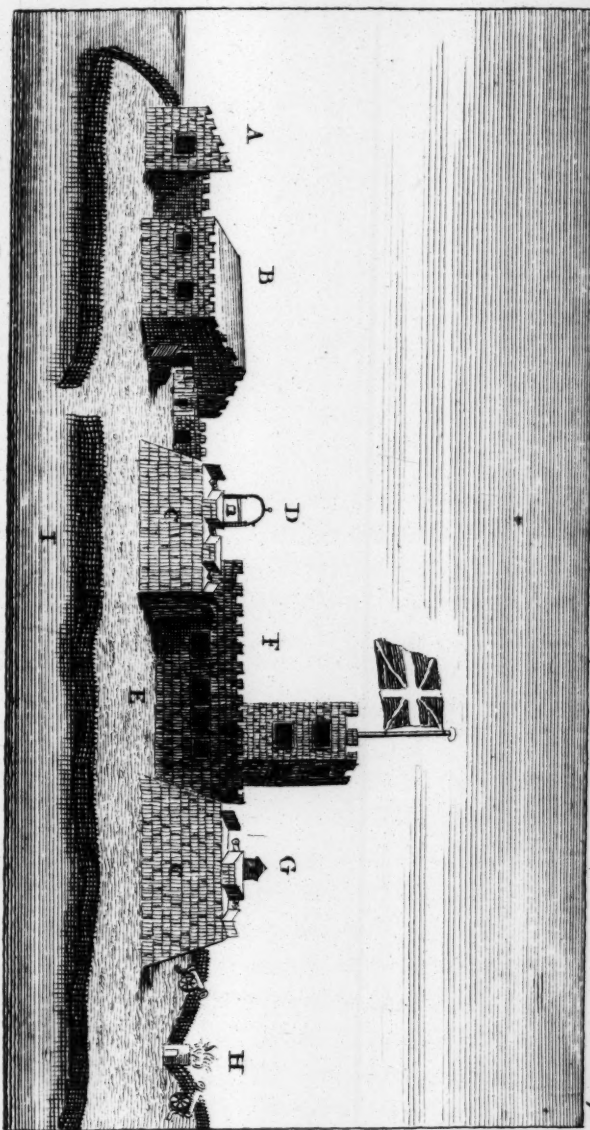
C H A P. I.

The Author arrives at James's Fort, in the River Gambia, which is described, as is also the Factory of Tancrowall, and some other Places on the Continent. One of the Kings comes to the Fort. A particular Account of the Mundingoes, the African Portuguese, Jolloiffs, Pholeys, and Floops, who are different Tribes that inhabit the Countries near the River Gambia.

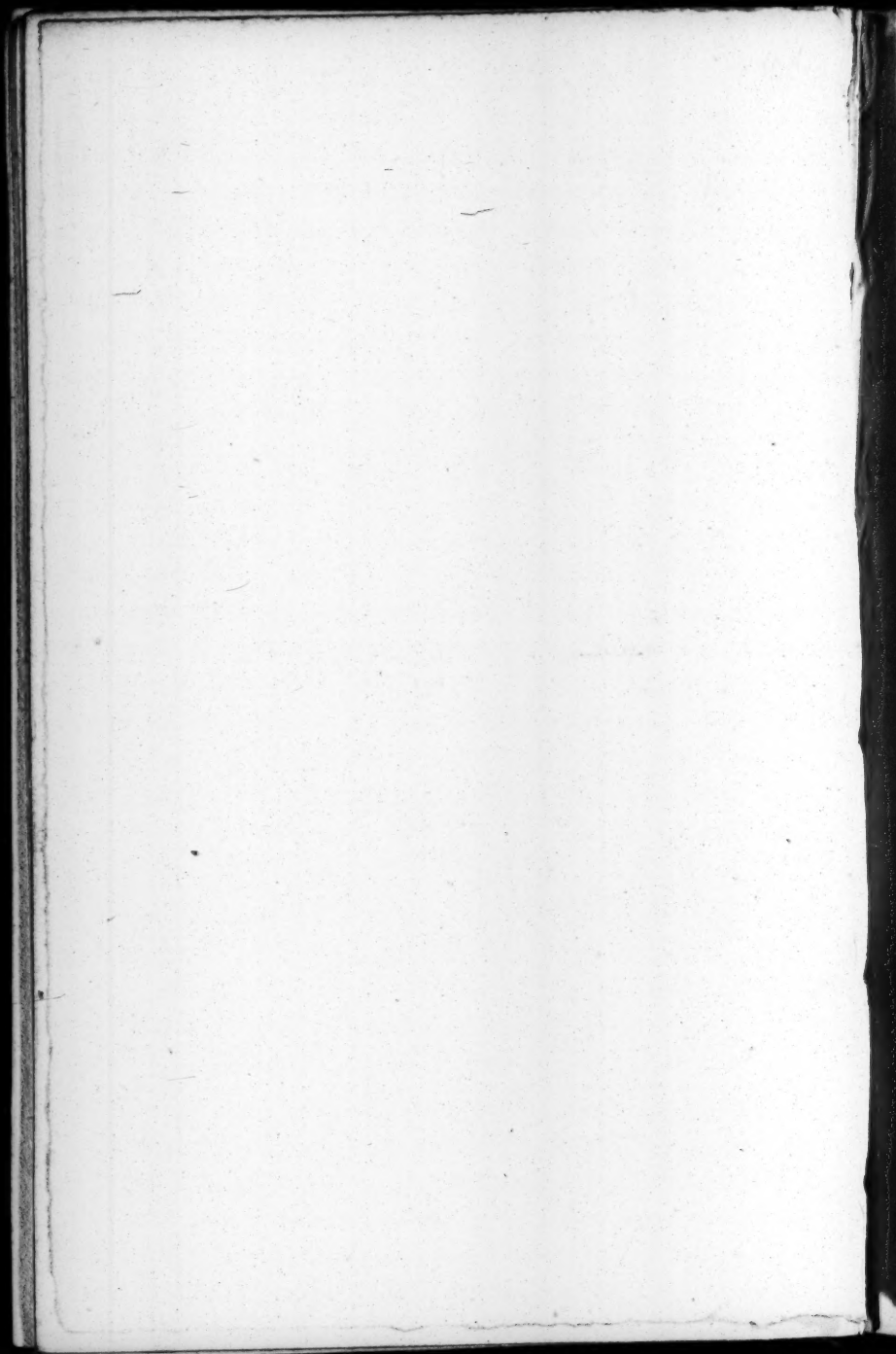
I LEFT *England* in *July* 1730, on my being appointed a writer in the service of the *Royal African company*, and on the 9th of *November* came to an anchor in the mouth of the *Gambia*. As we sailed up that river near the shore,

shore, the country appeared very beautiful, being for the most part woody; and between the woods were pleasant green rice grounds, which after the rice is cut, are stocked with cattle. On the 11th we landed at *James's* island, which is situated in the middle of the river, that is here at least seven miles broad. This island lies about ten leagues from the river's mouth, and is about three quarters of a mile in circumference. Upon it is a square stone fort regularly built, with four bastions; and upon each are seven guns well mounted, that command the river all round; besides, under the walls of the fort facing the sea, are two round batteries, on each of which are four large cannon well mounted, that carry ball of 24 pounds weight, and between these are nine small guns mounted for salutes. As this fort is the chief settlement of the *English* on the river *Gambia*, the following north view of it taken on the spot, will not be disagreeable to the reader; and here A is the smith's shop; B the soldiers barracks; C bastions; D a bell; E apartments; F a terrace walk; G a sentry-box; H a lime-kiln; I the river *Gambia*.

Besides the fort, there are several factories up the river, settled for the convenience of trade; but they are all under the direction of the Governor and chief merchants of the fort. For this purpose the company have here three or four sloops of about 30 tons each, and about the same number of long-boats; some of which are constantly employed in fetching provisions and water from the main for the use of the garrison,



The North Prospect of James Fort in the River Charleston.



garrison, and the rest are employed in carrying goods up to the factories, and bringing from them slaves, elephants teeth, and wax.

On my arrival, I had a good apartment given me near the compting-house. I dined with the rest of the writers, at what was called the second table; and we had fresh provisions in plenty, there being a beast killed every other day; fowls were brought daily by the natives to sell to the Governor, and he allowed every person who did not care for beef, to have them at a very easy rate. Our table, as well as that of the Governor's, was almost every day supplied with greens from the company's garden at *Gillfree*, for which we paid nothing. Flour we were well supplied with by the company, and having a baker on the island we had very good bread made us every day. Oysters we had when we pleased, for at low water we could get them at the north-north-west point of the island. We had wine and brandy at a moderate price, and when the Governor had any quantity of beer, we had a pretty good share of it. In short, we wanted for nothing that was necessary in regard to diet; but every one who come there ought to bring bedding, cloaths and chests. As soon as a person arrives, it is usual to agree with some woman at *Gillfree*, on the opposite continent, to wash their linen, which they do by the month, with good soap of their own making.

On the 16th, Mr. *John Hamilton*, my shipmate, was ordered up to manage the factory at *Tancrowall*, settling there chiefly for bees-wax.

wax. This town is divided into two parts, one for the *Portugueses*, and the other for the *Munding es*. The former live in large square houses, the latter in round huts, made of a good fat binding clay, which soon hardens : they are about twenty feet diameter, and about eight feet high, with a roof like that of a beehive made either of straw or palmetto leaves, so well fitted together, that the rain cannot penetrate, nor the heat of the sun strike through them. *Tancrowall* is the residence of a Priest annually sent over from *St. Jago*, one of the *Cape de Verd* islands, who has a church here, in which, during the Priest's stay, mass is said almost every day. Here are many of the descendants of the *Portuguese*, who send canoes up the river to trade once or twice a year : by which means they have made this town a place of great resort, and the richest in the whole river. It is about half a mile in length, and pleasantly situated by the water-side, with a woody hill behind it.

A night or two after, I supped upon oysters that grew upon trees : this being somewhat remarkable, it may be thought worthy of an explanation. Down the river where the water is salt, and near the sea, the river is bounded with trees called mangroves, whose leaves being long and heavy, weigh the boughs into the water : to these leaves the young oysters fasten in great quantities, where they grow till they are very large, and then you cannot separate them from the tree ; but are obliged to cut off
the

the boughs, with the oysters hanging on them, resembling ropes of onions.

On the 20th, I went to *St. Domingo* on the main land, which was the first time of my landing upon the continent of *Africa*. I walked from *St. Domingo* to *Gillyfree*, which is about a mile and a half, all the way through grass eight or nine feet high. By the way we saw a great number of lizards, some of which have heads as yellow as gold. *St. Domingo* lies on the north side of the river, directly opposite to *James's* island, and consists only of a few round huts belonging to the company, in which some of their cattle-slaves live, who cut wood for the use of the fort, take care of a well, and fill the casks daily brought over from the fort for that purpose.

On the 22d of *February*, one of the Kings of *Fonia* came to the fort, and on his landing, was saluted with five guns. He came to see the Governor, or rather to ask for some powder and ball, in order to enable him to defend himself against some people with whom he was at war: he was a young man, very black, tall, and well set; was dressed in a pair of short, yellow, cotton-cloth breeches, and wore on his back a garment of the same cloth, made like a surplice: he had on his head a very large cap, to which was fastened part of a goat's tail, which is a customary ornament with the great men of this river; but he had no shoes nor stockings. He and his retinue came in a large canoe holding about 16 people, all armed with guns and cutlasses. With him

came two or three women, and the same number of *Mundingo* drums, which are about a yard long, and a foot, or twenty inches diameter at the top, but less at the bottom; made out of a solid piece of wood, and covered only at the widest end with the skin of a kid. They beat upon them with their left hand, using only one drum stick; and the women will dance very briskly to the sound. They staid at the fort all night, and then returned home, having nine guns fired at their going off.

It may be here proper to observe, that there are many different kingdoms on the banks of the *Gambia*, inhabited by several races of people, as *Mundingos*, *Jolloffs*, *Pholeys*, *Flap*, and *Portuguese*. The most numerous are called *Mundingos*, as is likewise the country they inhabit: these are generally of a black colour, and well set. When this country was conquered by the *Portuguese* about the year 1420, some of that nation settled in it, who have cohabited with these *Mundingos*, till they are now very near as black as they: but as they still retain a sort of bastard *Portuguese* language called *Creole*, and as they christen and marry by the help of a Priest annually sent thither from *St. Jago*, one of the *Cape de Ver* islands, they still esteem themselves *Portuguese Christian*, as much as if they were actually natives of *Portugal*, and nothing angers them more than to call them *Negroes*, that being a term they use only for slaves.

On the north side of the river *Gambia*, and from thence in-land, are a people called *Jolloff*, whose

whose country extends even to the river *Senegal*. These people are much blacker, and handsomer than the *Mundios*; for they have not the broad noses and thick lips peculiar to the *Mundings* and *Floors*.

In every kingdom and country on each side of the river are people of a tawny colour, called *Pholes*, who resemble the *Arabs*, whose language most of them speak; for it is taught in their schools, and the Koran, which is also their law, is in that language. They are more generally learned in the *Arabic*, than the people of *Europe* are in *Latin*; for they can most of them speak it, though they have a vulgar tongue called *Pholey*. They live in hoards or clans, build towns, and are not subject to any of the Kings of the country, tho' they live in their territories; for if they are used ill in one nation, they break up their towns, and remove to another. They have chiefs of their own, who rule with such moderation; that every act of government seems rather an act of the people than of one man. This form of government is easily administered, because the people are of a good and quiet disposition, and so well instructed in what is just and right, that a man who does ill, is the abomination of all.

In these countries the natives are not avaricious of lands: they desire no more than what they use; and as they do not plough with horses or cattle, they can use but very little. Hence the Kings are willing to allow the *Pholes* to cultivate the land, and live in their dominions. They plant tobacco near their houses,

and all round their towns they plant cotton ; beyond that are their corn fields, of which they raise the four kinds usually produced all over this country ; that is, maize, or *Indian* corn, rice, and the larger, and lesser *Guinea* corn. In *Gambia* is no wheat, barley, rye, oats, nor any other *European* grain ; but they have a kind of pulse between the kidney-bean and pea, and also potatoes and yams. The *Indian* corn they set in holes, about four feet distance from each other, so that it grows up like hops, and shoots about eight or ten feet high in large canes, with the ears growing out of the sides. The rice, which is esteemed their choicest food, they set in rills, as we do pease ; it grows in wet grounds, and the ears resemble those of oats. The largest *Guinea* corn is round, and about the size of the smallest pease : they sow it as we do wheat and barley : it grows to nine or ten feet high, upon a small reed, and the grain is in a large tuft at the top. The lesser *Guinea* corn, called by the *Portuguese* *Manfaroque*, is sowed by hand, and shoots to the same height, on a large reed, on the top of which the corn grows on a head like a bulrush : the grain is very small, and like canary seed, only larger.

The natives make no bread, but thicken liquids with the flour of the different grains. The maize they mostly use when green, parching it in the ear, when it eats like green peas. Their rice they boil in the same manner as is practised by the *Turks* ; and make flour of the *Guinea* corn and *manfaroque*, as they also sometimes

times do of the two former species, by beating it in wooden mortars. The natives never bake cakes or bread for themselves; but those of their women who live among the *Europeans* learn to do both.

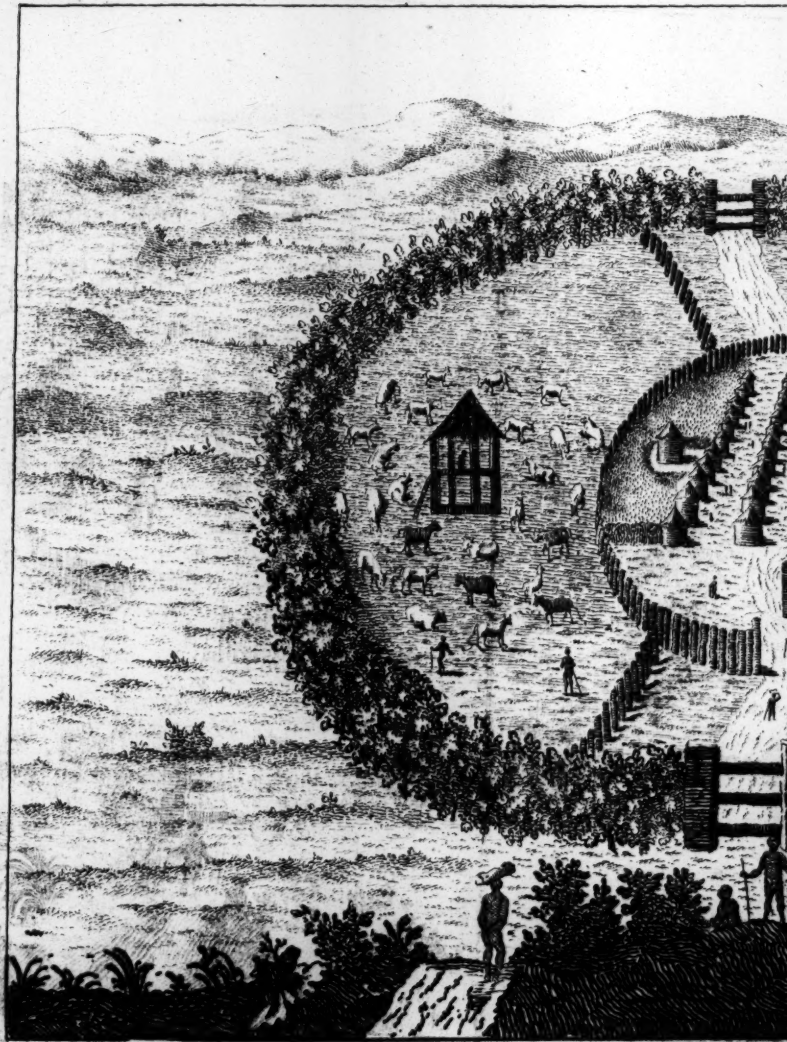
The *Pholeys* are the greatest planters in the country, though they are strangers in it. They are very industrious and frugal, and raise much more corn and cotton than they consume, which they sell at reasonable rates, and are so remarkable for their hospitality, that the natives esteem it a blessing to have a *Pholey* town in their neighbourhood: besides, their behaviour has gained them such reputation, that it is esteemed infamous for any one to treat them in an inhospitable manner. Though their humanity extends to all, they are doubly kind to people of their own race; and if they know of any one of their body being made a slave, all the *Pholeys* will unite to redeem him. As they have plenty of food, they never suffer any of their own people to want; but support the old, the blind and the lame, equally with the others. They are seldom angry, and I never heard them abuse each other; yet this mildness does not proceed from want of courage; for they are as brave as any people of *Africa*, and are very expert in the use of their arms, which are the assagay, short cutlasses, bows and arrows, and even guns upon occasion. They commonly settle near some *Mundingo* town; there being scarce any one of note, especially up the river, that has not a *Pholey* town near it. They are strict *Mahometans*; and scarcely any of them

will drink brandy, or any thing stronger than sugar and water.

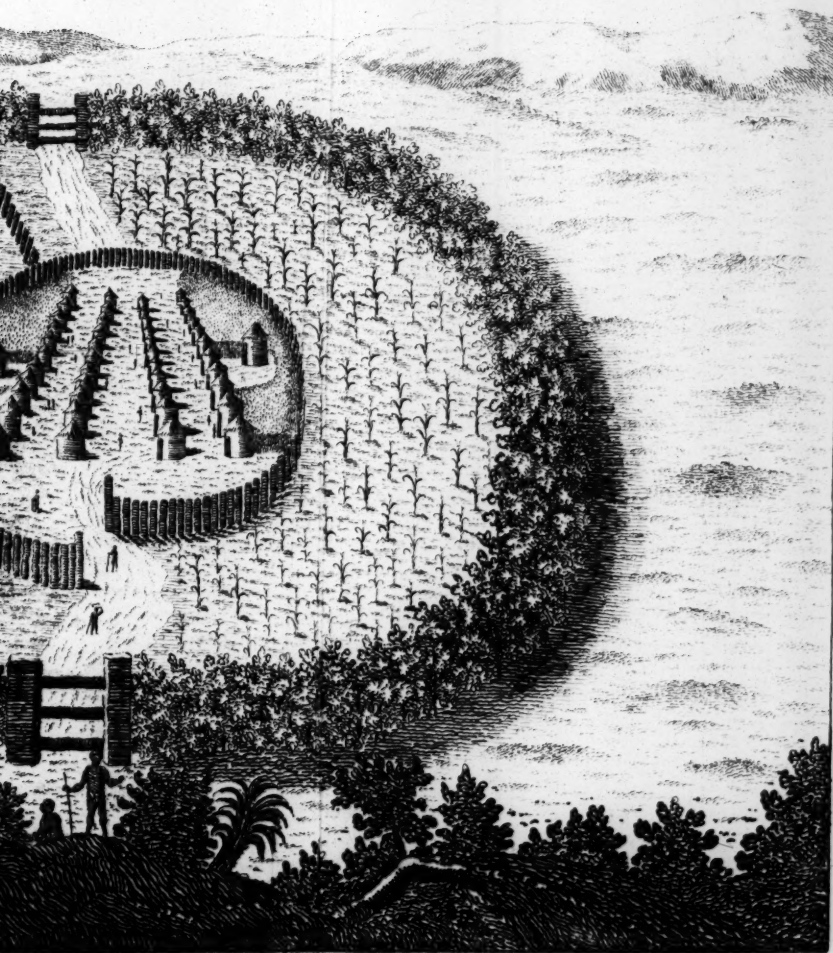
They breed cattle, and are very dexterous at managing them, so that the *Mundings* leave theirs to their care. The whole herd belonging to a town feed all the day in the savannahs, and after the crop is off, in the rice-grounds. They have a place without each town for the cattle, in the middle of which they raise a stage about eight feet high from the ground, and eight or ten feet wide : to this is a ladder, and over it a roof thatch, with the sides all open. Round this stage they fix a number of stakes, and every night the cattle are brought up, and each beast tied to a separate stake, with a strong rope made of the barks of trees. The cows are then milked, and four or five men stay upon the stage all night with their arms, to guard them from the lions and other wild beasts. Their houses are built in a very regular manner, and placed at a distance from each other, to avoid fire. The following is a draught of a *Pholey* town, with their cotton and cattle ground, and most of their towns are built in this manner.

They are likewise great huntsmen, and not only kill lions, tygers, and other wild beasts ; but often go 20 or 30 in a company to hunt elephants, whose teeth they sell, and whose flesh they smoke-dry and eat, keeping it several months together. The elephants, they say, generally go one or two hundred in a drove, and do great mischief by pulling up the trees by the roots, and trampling down the corn :

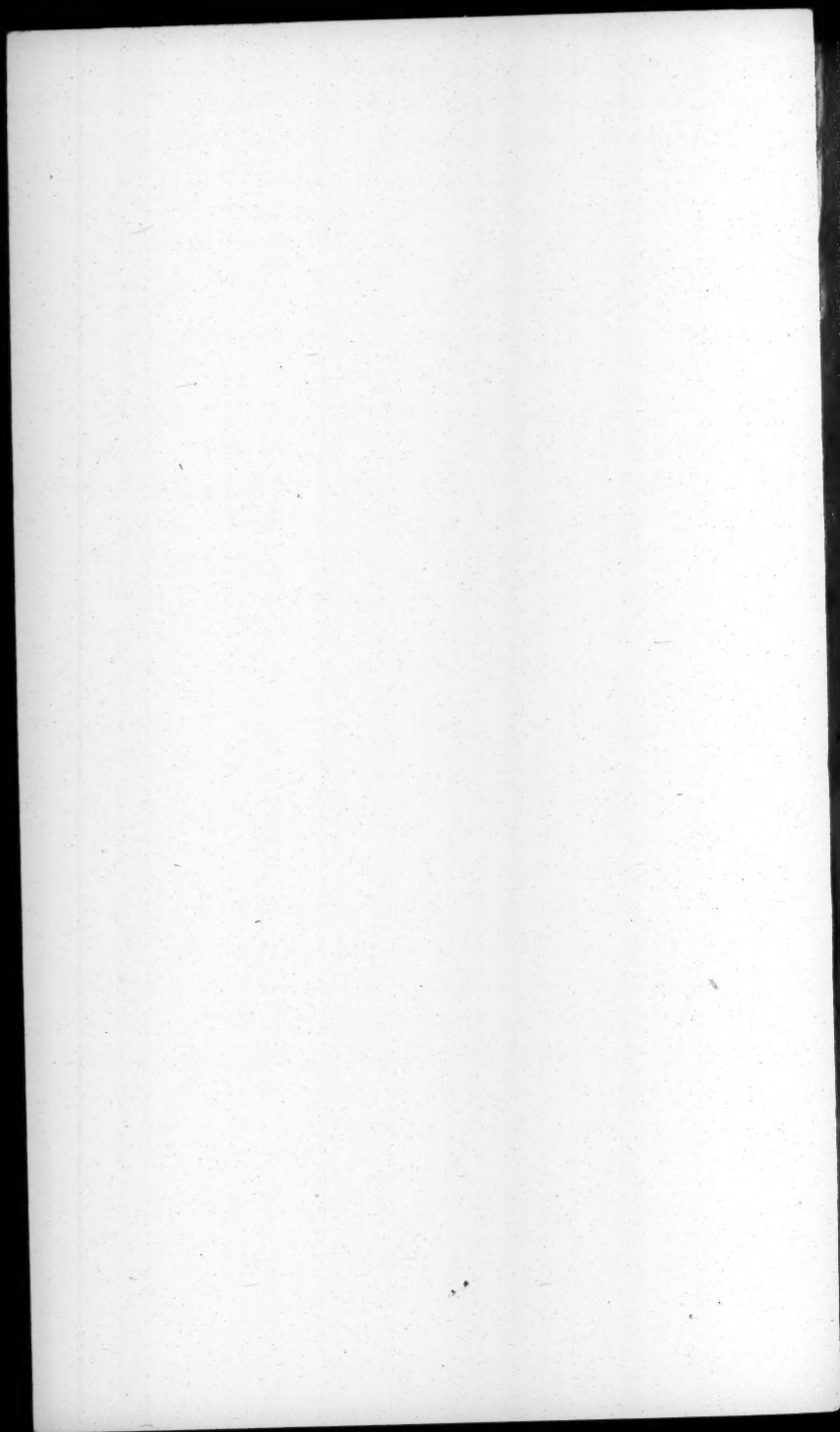
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A View of a Pholey Tom



Key Town and Plantation ?



to prevent which, the natives when they have any suspicion of their coming, make fires all round their corn to keep them out.

The *Pholeys* are almost the only people who make butter, and of whom cattle can be purchased at some distance up the river. They are very particular in their dress, and never wear any cloaths but such as are of white cotton, which they make themselves. They are always very clean, especially the women, who keep their houses exceeding sweet. However, in some things they are superstitious, in particular if they know any body boils the new milk bought of them, they will not on any consideration, sell that person any more, because they say, that boiling the milk makes the cows dry.

On the south side of the river, opposite *James' fort*, in the empire of *Fonia*, and but a little way inland, are a sort of people called *Floops*, who are in a manner wild: they border on the *Mundings*, who are bitter enemies to them. Their country is of vast extent, but they have no King: each of their towns is fortified with a double row of stakes drove all round them, and filled up with clay: but though they are independent of each other, and under the government of no one chief; they unite so firmly, that all the force of the *Mundings* cannot get the better of them.

The most general language used in these countries is the *Munding*; and if you can speak it, you may travel from the river's mouth up to the country of the *Jonc.e.*, or the merchants,

chants, a people so called, from their annually buying a great number of slaves there, and bringing them down to the lower parts of the river, to sell them to the *Europeans*; though I believe their country cannot be less than six weeks journey from *Jam's* fort.

The next language mostly used here is called the *Creole Portuguese*, though I believe it would be scarce understood at *Lisbon*; it is, however, sooner learnt by *Englishmen*, than any other language used on the banks of this river, and is always spoken by the linguists or interpreters; and these two I learnt whilst in the river.

The *Arabic* is not only spoken by the *Pholeys*, but by most of the *Mahometans* in the river, though they are *Mundingoes*; and it is observed, that those who can write that language are not only very strict at their devotions three or four times a day; but are so remarkably sober and abstemious in their manner of living, that they would rather die than drink strong liquors, and rather fast, than eat any thing that is not killed by one of their own way of thinking. All the *Mundingoes* pay them great veneration, and if any of them are ill, they apply to one of these *Mahometans* for a cure; not by inward petitions; but only by a note wrote on a small piece of paper, to wear about them, imagining, that while they carry a paper wrote by a holy man, no ill can happen to them, or continue long with them: but the worst of it is, they pay a great price for these papers; by which means the *Mahometans*, commonly called
Busherines,

Busherines, are generally richer, and enjoy greater plenty than most of the other *Mundings*.

Besides the above languages, there are others peculiar to every Kingdom ; such is that of the *Floops*, the *Banyoons*, the *Folloiffs*, and *Bumbrongs* ; the latter is used very high up the river in the merchants country.

C H A P. II.

A Description of Gillyfree. Job, Son to the High Priest of Bundo, sold for a Slave. Vintain and Joar described, with the Manners of the Inhabitants. The King of Barfally's Behaviour at the Factory of Joar. The Author being appointed a Factor, sails up the River, and gives a Description of the Towns on its Banks. A great Inundation of the Gambia, which occasions the Fort of Yamyamacunda being rebuilt.

ON the 4th of April I went to *Gillyfree*, which is a large town, a little below *James' fort*, inhabited by *Portuguese*, *Mundings* and some *Mahometans*, who have here a pretty little mosque. The *English* company have a factory here pleasantly situated, facing the fort, and also, as I have already observed, some gardens that supply the fort with greens and fruit. The country round the town affords fine shooting, and were it not too sandy, it would be pleasant walking. Here are great numbers of plantain and banana trees ; guavas, orange and lime-trees ; and among the birds
are

are many pelicans, which are as large as a goose, and much of the same colour: they have a very long bill, and under it is a very large bag. They live upon fish, and therefore are commonly near the rivers.

A native here took me to his house, and shewed me a great number of arrows, daubed over with a black mixture, said to be so venomous, that if the arrow did but draw blood it would be mortal, unless the person who made the mixture had a mind to cure it; for the man observed, that there were no poisonous herbs, whose effects might not be prevented by the application of other herbs.

On the 11th, came down the river a vessel commanded by Captain *Pyke*, a separate trader, from *Joar*, loaded with slaves, among whom was a person of an elegant figure, named *Job Ben Solomon*, who was of the *Pholey* race, and son to the High Priest of *Bundo*, in *Foota*, a place about ten days journey from *Gillyfree*. This person was travelling on the south side of the *Gambia*, with a servant, and about twenty or thirty head of cattle, which induced the King of a country a little within the land to seize not only the cattle, but *Job* and his man, both of whom he sold for slaves to Captain *Pyke*. The *Pholeys*, his humane countrymen, would have redeemed him; but they had the mortification to find that he was carried out of the river before they had notice of his being a slave, and Capt. *Pyke* sailed with him to *Maryland*. *Job*, who was a person of extraordinary abilities, and distinguished merit, was not so unhappy as he had

had reason to expect; but his adventures will be hereafter related, when I shall have occasion to mention his return to this country †.

On the 4th of *June* two *Jolloiffs* came to *James'* island to sell cotton cloths: these they make very fine, and in large quantities: their pieces are generally 27 yards long; but are never above nine inches broad; but they sew them neatly together to make them serve for broader cloths. They clean the cotton from the seed by hand, and then spin it with a spindle and distaff, after which they weave it with a shuttle and loom of very coarse workmanship. In order to dress themselves with these cloths, they make them into pairs, one about three yards long, and a yard and a half wide, to cover their shoulders and body; the other almost of the same width, and but two yards long, to cover them from the waist downwards. This pair of cloths is the cloathing of either a man or woman, the only difference being in the manner of wearing them. I have seen a pair of these cloths so fine, and of so bright a dye, as to be worth 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ 10s. sterling. Their colours are either blue or yellow, some very lively: the first is dyed with indigo, and the other with the bark of trees.

On the 25th, the Governor and I set out for *Vintain*, where we arrived in three hours, though it lies about six leagues from *James'* fort. Some part of the way is up the river of the same name. The town belongs to one of the Kings of *Fonia*, and is pleasantly situated

† See the beginning of Chap. III.

on the side of a hill close to the river. It is inhabited both by *Portuguese* and *Mahometans*, the latter of whom have a handsome mosque. It is noted for plenty of provisions, great quantities of which are brought by the *Fleets*, who border on it; and the company have a small factory there to buy bees-wax: above the town is fine grass, and some trees, that render its situation very pleasant.

On our coming to the town, the Alcade, and all the principal inhabitants came to welcome us, and soon after came the Prince, in whose dominions the town is situated. The common people were dressed with a cloth round their waists that reached to their knees, and another cloth over their right shoulder; for the men have commonly one shoulder bare, which the women have not; the cloaths of the latter generally reach as low as the small of their legs. They are very proud of their hair; some wear it in tufts and bunches, others cut it in crosses, and others again string coral or beads upon it. The men have commonly caps of cotton cloth, some plain, and some adorned with feathers and goats tails. The women generally wear handkerchiefs tied round their heads, leaving the crown bare, and for want of a handkerchief, they use a slip of blue or white cotton cloth; a great many of them, especially up the river, wear on the crown of the head a good number of small horse-bells.

Their towns consist of a number of huts built promiscuously together; each hut is generally fourteen or fifteen yards in circumference, built with

with clay, and covered with long grass, or palmetto leaves. They generally keep their houses very clean ; but the stinking fish, and other things they keep in them, prevent their being very sweet.

The inhabitants are not very curious in their furniture : for the most that any of them have is a small chest for cloaths, a matt raised upon posts from the ground, to lie on ; a jar to hold water, a callabash to drink it with ; two or three wooden mortars, in which they pound their corn and rice ; a basket which they use as a sieve, and two or three large callabashes, out of which they eat with their hands instead of spoons. They are not very careful of laying up store against a time of scarcity ; but chuse rather to sell what they can, as upon occasion they can fast two or three days without eating ; but then they are always smoaking tobacco, which is of their own growth. The boll of their pipes is neatly made of a reddish coloured clay ; but the stems are only a piece of a reed or a small stick boared through with a hot iron wire, and some of them are six feet long. After they have boared, they polish them with rough leaves till they are very smooth, white and handsome. They fasten the boll and stem together with a piece of red leather, and sometimes have a fine leather tassel hanging to the middle of the pipe. The merchants who travel much, carry with them pipes of so large a size, that the bolls of some of them hold no less than half a pint.

But to proceed : the Governor expecting to receive orders for appointing me a Factor, sent me on the 28th of *August* to *Joar*, to learn the nature of the trade. *Joar* is situated in the kingdom of *Barfally* about three miles from a large town called *Cowar*, in a fine savannah, surrounded with woods that harbour wild beasts, which you may hear howling and roaring every night. It is about two miles from the *Gambia*, and inhabited by a few *Portuguese* ; it consists only of ten houses, besides one belonging to the King of *Barfally*, and the *English* factory ; but the two last take up as much ground as all the others. About a mile from it is a ledge of high and rocky hills covered with trees, which the natives say, run a hundred leagues up the country. In the summer it is pleasant walking on these hills ; but the wild beasts being driven thither in the rainy season, by the low ground being covered with water, one cannot walk there without danger. In that season, the frogs, of which there are vast numbers, much larger than those of *England*, make in the night, as much noise as a pack of hounds, and at a good distance, the sound is not very unlike it. About the above savannah are plenty of deer, buffaloes, wild hogs, partridges, geese, ducks, and quails ; which are very good eating, and admired by the natives themselves. It is remarkable that the partridges here have sometimes two large spurs on one leg. There is here a remarkable bird, of about the size of a pigeon, which comes abroad at dusk, and has four wings.

Here

Here are also cameleons, and great numbers of crocodiles, which the natives kill and eat; they admire both them and their eggs, which I have frequently seen them eat, when they had young ones in them as long as my finger. This is one of their nicest dishes.

Whilst I was here, I saw an ostrich, with a man riding upon its back, who was going down to the fort; it being a present to the Governor, from one of our factors, who bought it at *Fatatenda*.

Soon after my arrival at *Joar*, the King of *Borjally* came thither, attended by three of his brothers, above 100 horsemen, and as many foot, and tho' he had a house of his own in the town, insisted on lying at the factory. Mr. *Roberts*, Mr. *Harrison*, who were factors, and I were all the *English* there. The King immediately took possession of Mr. *Roberts's* bed, and then having drank brandy till he was drunk, ordered Mr. *Roberts* to be held, while he himself took out of his pocket the keys of the store-house, into which he and several of his people went, and took what they pleased: he searched chiefly for brandy; of which there happened to be but one anchor; he took that and having drank till he was dead drunk, was put to bed. This anchor lasted him three days; and it was no sooner empty, than he went all over the house to seek for more. At last he entered a room, in which Mr. *Harrison* lay sick, and seeing there a case that contained six gallons and a half, that belonged to him and me, he ordered Mr. *Harrison* to get out of bed and open it; he, how-

ever, told him with great gravity, that there was nothing in it but some of the Company's Papers; and that it must not be opened, but the King was too well acquainted with liquor cases to be so easily deceived; and therefore ordered some of his men to hold Mr. *Harrison* in bed, while he himself took the key out of his breeches pocket. He then opened the chest, took out all the liquor, and was not sober while it lasted: but he often sent for Mr. *Harrison* and me to drink with him. At length it being all drank, he talked of going home, on which his people, and even his chief ministers, who were his General, and the keeper of his stores, amused themselves with taking whatever they liked, and had the assurance to open even chests and boxes, this we could not help, for what resistance could three men make against 200? What they took amounted to 20l. sterling.

Sometimes the King would ride abroad, and take most of his attendants with him: but when he was gone we were plagued with the company of two of his brothers, who were, if possible, worse than his Majesty. Once during his absence *Boomey Haman Benda*, one of these Princes, laid hold of a mug of water, and pretending to drink, took a mouthful, and then setting the mug on the table, spurted the water in my face. Upon which considering that if I suffered such insolence to pass unresented, it would render me liable to be continually insulted, I took the remainder of the water, and threw it into his breeches. Upon this he pulled
out

out his knife, and endeavoured to stab me, but was prevented by his favourite attendant, who held his arm, and soon after represented to him the unhandsome manner in which he had treated me, and the provocation I had received to wet him. This made him so ashamed, that coming up to me, he laid himself down on the floor without his garment, took my foot, and placed it on his neck, and there lay till I desired him to rise: after which, no man appeared more my friend, nor shewed greater willingness to oblige me.

This King, as well as his attendants, are of the *Mahometan* religion, notwithstanding their being such drunkards, and this monster, when he is sober, even prays. He dresses like most of the other Kings of this country, in a garment like a surplice, that comes no lower than his knees. He has a pair of breeches of the same sort of cloth, about seven yards wide gathered round his waist; he wears a pair of slippers, but no stockings. His head is covered with a small white cotton cap, and he commonly wears a pair of gold ear-rings. His people, as well as himself always wear white cloaths and white caps, and as they are exceeding black, this dress makes them look very well.

This tyrant is tall, and so passionate that when any of his men affront him, he makes no scruple of shooting them; and sometimes when he goes aboard a company's sloop at *Cokore*, where he usually resides, he inhumanly shews his dexterity by shooting at the canoes that pass by, frequently killing one or two men in a day.

He has many wives, but never brings above two or three abroad at a time with him. Among his brothers, there are some to whom he seldom speaks, or permits to come into his company; and when they obtain this favour, they pull off their caps and garments and throw dust upon their heads, as all except white men do, who come into the King's presence.

The dominions of this Prince are very extensive, and divided into several provinces, over which he appoints governors, called Boomeys, who annually come to pay him homage: but tho' they have an almost unlimited power, they are beloved, as well as feared by the people.

At length the King and his guards to our great joy, left the factory, in order to return to *Cohone*; but they first stript Mr. *Roberts's* chamber, and took away his cloaths and books, which last they offered to sell to a *Mahometan* Priest; but he being a friend to Mr. *Roberts*, told them, he believed they were books in which he kept the account of his goods, and that to take them away would inevitably ruin him: upon which they gave him leave to return them.

However five months after the King of *Barsally* paid us another visit, and staying about a week, during which he behaved much in the same manner as before, he and his attendants again left us; but some of them first broke open my bureau, and took out things to a considerable value, and the same fate attended Mr. *Roberts*: besides which they took a great quantity of the company's goods.

In

In the interval which passed between these two visits, I had been made factor, and had received orders to take charge of the factory of *Joar*: but I was unwilling to accept of this office, as that factory was liable to so many insults from a drunken monarch, void of every principle of justice, and destitute of the feeling of humanity: I therefore took an inventory of the goods the company had there, in *January* 1732, and taking a letter to the Governor from Mr. *Roberts*, my colleague, returned to *James'* fort.

In *March* I returned to my factory: but Mr. *Hugh Hamilton* being sent up the river to settle a factory at *Fata'enda*, I was permitted to accompany him, and accordingly on the 9th of *April* we left *Joar*, and proceeded in a sloop up the *Gambia*. The next day we arrived at *Yanimarew*, which is the pleasantest port in the whole river, the country being delightfully shaded with palm and palmetto trees. The company have here a small house, with a black factor, to purchase corn for the use of the fort.

From thence we proceeded to *Cassan* a small town on the north side of the river, in an agreeable situation, about a musket shot from the water side, and fortified with a wall of clay supported by stakes, with holes left for muskets, and watch towers at proper distances.

From *Cassan* we steered up to *Dubecunda*, which lies on the south side of the river, and is divided into two parts, or distinct towns; one of which is fortified with a wall made by a vast number of palmetto trees fixed in the ground,

ground, and clay laid in between, so that it is little inferior to a brick wall. The other town is only encompassed by a fence of canes, formed like hurdles, and fastened by a number of stakes, in which manner most of the towns on the *Gambia*, and even the factories are surrounded. The people live in the open town, in time of peace; but when they are at war, and find it in danger of being attacked by an enemy, they shut themselves up in that which is most strongly fortified.

On our leaving this town we proceeded up the river several days, and at length reached *Yamyamacunda*, where I stayed while Mr. *Hamilton* proceeded up to *Fatatenda*. When I had been there some time I took horse and rode to the Port of *Bassy*, in my way to *Nackway*, where we had a *Portuguese* servant who was settled there, in order to trade for the company: the reason of my going thither was to inspect into his behaviour, and examine his accounts.

The port of *Bassy* is in the Kingdom of *Tamany*, on the south side of the river *Gambia*. All the way to it is very woody. I lay at night in one of the huts of the natives, and the next morning leaving my horse there, crossed the river in a small canoe, and walked to *Nackway*, which is almost seven miles. Half the way led through woods, and the other through a fine large savannah, without any trees, except a few scattered at a distance from each other: and in the rainy season it is generally under water.

On

On my arrival at *Nackway*, the natives welcomed me with the music of the *balaseu*, which, at about a hundred yards distance sounds something like a small organ. It is composed of about twenty pipes of very hard wood finely polished; which diminish by little and little, both in length and breadth, and are tied together by thongs of very fine leather. These thongs are twisted about small round wands, put between the pipes to keep them at a distance, and underneath the pipes are fastened twelve or fourteen callabashes of different sizes. This instrument they play upon with two sticks, covered with a thin skin taken from the trunk of the palmetto tree, or with fine leather, to make the sound less harsh. Both men and women dance to this music, which they much admire, and are highly delighted to have a white man dance with them.

Having finished my business here, I returned to *Yamyamacunda*, and having continued there about three months proceeded still farther up the river to *Fatatenda*. The *Gambia* is there as wide as the *Thames* at *London-Bridge*, and seemed very deep; but what is most extraordinary the tide in the dry season rises three or four feet, though that place is 600 miles from the river's mouth. The land on both sides of the river is covered with woods; the south side is low; but the factory is situated on a high and steep rock on the north side, and has a fine prospect of the course of the river several miles up and down, and on the opposite side you may see great part of the kingdom of *Cantore*:
but

but I was every night disturbed by the howling and roaring of the wild beasts.

Having staid there a few days, I thought of going to *Nackway* along the north side of the river, but could not, the creeks being so much out that it was impossible to pass them. I therefore crossed the river *Gambia*; and went on the south side. That day I rode over the steepest hill I ever saw in my life, it being almost a continued rock of iron stone, and yet it is full of trees. About sun-set I got to *Bassy* port, and having crossed the river, walked to *Nackway* by moonlight, and the next morning returned to *Famyamacunda*, which I believe to be near 40 miles by land from *Fatatenda*. The river being now fallen, the women flocked to it, and were exceeding busy in catching small fish like sprats. This is done in a basket like a hamper, by putting a little ball of paste at the bottom of it; holding it a short time under water, and then raising it gently, they bring up the fish and lay them on a clean spot of ground to dry; after which they pound them in a wooden mortar to a paste, then make them into balls of about three pounds each, and thus keep them all the year round. A small quantity of them goes a great way: they do not dress them by themselves, but mix them with rice or corn, and this food I have several times eat with a good appetite.

At the latter end of *October*, the weather, which had been excessive hot, began to grow cool and pleasant. The mornings and evenings were very foggy, and the women were
busy

busy in cutting their rice, which is here their own property ; for after they have set by a sufficient quantity for their family use, they sell the remainder and take the money themselves, the husbands not interfering. They observe the same custom with respect to fowls which they breed in great numbers when they find they can dispose of them.

About this time I shot a green snake two yards long, though it was not above three inches in circumference. These snakes are not at all venomous ; but there are such numbers of others that are so, that the natives seldom go out without a medicine to apply in case they are bitten. They are very much afraid of the black snakes, which I have seen three yards long, and as thick as the small of my leg. They say among the venomous snakes there are some with a comb on their heads, like a cock, and these they positively affirm crow like one. There are also plenty of guanas, a very ugly creature, that has some resemblance to an allegator. They are about a yard long, and are eat both by the natives and some *Europeans* as a great dainty.

On the 20th of *November* in the evening was a total eclipse of the moon, and the *Munigoes* told me, the darkness was occasioned by a cat's putting her paw between the moon and the earth. The *Mahometans* in this country were singing and dancing the whole time, because they expect their Prophet to come in an eclipse.

On the 4th of *September*, 1733, the *Gambia* rose

rose so high, that it entered the inclosure that surrounded the factory house, and was of split cane ten feet high, strengthened by long stakes. This was towards the end of the rainy season : the next day finding the house surrounded, I employed all the servants to build me a hut in the middle of the town of *Yamyamacunda*, which was the highest spot of ground in that neighbourhood : the walls of the factory being built only of a binding clay, which began to crack, I made all the dispatch I could, and the following day removed the company's effects to my new hut in the town ; I now thought it adviseable to leave the factory, there being frogs, toads, snakes, and fish continually coming into it, and about midnight some of the walls fell ; but the roof still stood. For the ten following days we daily saw vast numbers of floating islands come down the river, some of them 20 or 25 yards long, with stumps of trees, and sometimes many small trees growing on them ; with the birds hopping on the boughs. The roots being thick and interwoven one within another and fastened with earth, made the islands float : they being only parts of woods torn away by the force of the floods. All the neighbouring valleys were under water : the rice grounds were almost spoiled by being long covered with it : canoes went from place to place over the very roads which in the dry season the natives travel on foot, and provisions were so scarce that I was sometimes two days without a possibility of getting any, for want of canoes, without which I was unable to

go twenty yards from my hut ; and the natives told me, that they had not had such an inundation for eight years past. However, none of the company's effects were either lost or damaged ; nor was the company put to any charge, except for repairing the factory-house, which was inconsiderable. On the 20th the water began to fall apace, and a week after I removed with all the company's goods to the factory ; but it was so much damaged, that we were soon after obliged to rebuild it.

Having pitched upon a rising ground about 50 yards distant from the river, I marked out a place for the house 40 feet square. The best trees for upright posts and ridge poles being mangroves, they were brought from below *Joar*, of these the frame of the house was built, the roof projecting about four feet, in order to secure the walls from wet. We next began to build the walls of clay, which the Negroes trod with their feet, and tempered extremely well that it might not crack. The walls were then laid a foot and a half thick, and one foot high, all round the house, and then left to dry, till they were hard enough to bear a second layer ; thus they were raised foot by foot, till they were ten feet high, leaving one foot distance between them and the roof for air. At the same time we made the partition walls of clay of the same thickness, working the clay close up to the doors and window frames ; and afterwards we formed a porch at the door ; for the natives say, that they have a right to a porch at every factory, to afford them access and

shelter. Having covered the roof with a kind of thick mats made of straw, we floored the store-house with clay hard rammed. Thus we finished our house, in which we had a large hall, three strong store-houses, and two lodging-rooms, without any iron-work, trowels, squares, or carpenter's rules, with scarcely any expence to the company; for it was done by their servants, without any other help but one man who was hired to lay and smooth the clay. Yet the inside was not only convenient and free from vermin, but very clean, and had a cool look; for the clay is hard, close, smooth, and takes white-wash very well.

On the outside of the house were two shady bishelo trees, and a piece of ground containing about an acre, which we inclosed with a fence ten feet high made of split cane, wove like hurdles. Within this fence, at proper distances from the factory, we built four houses after the *Mundingo* fashion, one for a kitchen, one for a salt-house, another for a store-house for corn, and the other for the lodging of the company's black servants. The ground between we used for a garden, and some part of it, for fowls and other stock.

Speaking of the poultry reminds me of the *Guinea* fowl, which are of a dark colour, with white spots, and some blue and red about the head. These are generally thought to be the tame fowl of *Africa*; but that is a mistake; for they are as wild as the pheasants in *England*, only much more plentiful. The only tame fowl of this country are of the same dunghill breed

breed as those in *Europe*, and the natives have great plenty of them ; but here are no turkeys, tame geese, or ducks.

C H A P. III.

The History of Job Ben Solomon. An Account of the Climate and Country on the Banks of the Gambia ; the Customs and Manners of the Inhabitants, and the Nature of their Trade.

I STAYED at the new factory house I had caused to be built at *Yamyamacunda*, till the 5th of *May*, 1734 ; and was employed in the company's service in different parts of the river till the 13th of *July* following, when I was desired to come down to *James' Fort*, where I was on the 8th of *August*, when the *Dolphin* snow arrived, with four writers, and *Job Ben Solomon*, on board. We have already mentioned his being robbed and carried to *Joar*, where he was sold to Captain *Pyke*, by whom he was carried to *Maryland*. *Job* was there sold to a planter, with whom he had lived about a twelve month, in all which time he had the happiness not to be struck by his master, and had then the good fortune to have a letter of his own writing in the *Arabic* tongue, conveyed to *England*. This letter coming to the hand of Mr. *Oglethorp*, he sent it to *Oxford* to be translated ; which being done, it gave

him such satisfaction, and inspired him with so good an opinion of the Author, that he immediately sent orders to have him bought of his master. This happened a little before that gentleman's setting out for *Georgia*, and before his return from thence, *Job* arrived in *England*, where being brought to the acquaintance of *Sir Hans Sloane*, he was found to be a perfect master of the *Arabic* tongue, by his translating several manuscripts and inscriptions on medals. That learned Antiquary recommended him to the Duke of *Montague*, who being pleased with his genius and capacity, the agreeableness of his behaviour, and the sweetness of his temper, introduced him to court, where he was graciously received by the Royal Family and most of the nobility, who honoured him with many marks of favour. The *African* Company and the chief Merchants of the city strove who should ofteneft invite him to their tables. His good sense engaged their esteem, he freely discoursed on every subject, and attended the churches of the most celebrated divines. When he had been in *England* about fourteen months, his ardent desire to see his native country made him press for his departure. He had wrote from *England* to the High Priest his father, and earnestly longed to see him. Upon his setting out from *England*, he received many noble presents from *Queen Caroline*, *Prince William*†, the Duke of *Montague*, and the Earl of *Pembroke*, several Ladies of quality, *Mr. Holden*, and the Royal

† The late Duke of *Cumberland*.

African Company, and the latter ordered all their Agents to shew him the greatest respect.

On his arrival at *James' Fort*, *Job* desired that I would send a messenger to his country to let his friends know where he was. I spoke to one of the blacks whom we usually employed, to procure me a messenger, and he brought me a *Pholev*, who not only knew the High Priest his father, but *Job* himself, and expressed great joy at seeing him safely returned from slavery, he being the only man, except one, ever known to come back to his country, after being once carried a slave out of it by white men. *Job* gave him the message himself, and desired that his father should not come down to him, observing that it was too far for him to travel; and that it was fit the young should go to the old, and not for the old to come to the young. He also sent some presents to his wives, and desired the man to bring his little one, who was his best beloved, down with him.

Job having a mind to go up to *Joar*, to talk with some of his countrymen, went along with me. We arrived at the creek of *Damosensa*, and having some old acquaintances at the town of that name, *Job* and I went in the yawl: in the way going up a narrow place for about half a mile, we saw several monkeys of a beautiful blue and red, which the natives told me never set their feet on the ground, but live entirely among the trees, leaping from one to another, at such great distances, as would appear improbable to any but an eye witness.

In the evening as my friend *Job* and I were sitting under a great tree at *Damafensa*, there came six or seven of the very people who three years before, had robbed and made a slave of him, at about thirty miles distance from that place. *Job*, tho' naturally possessed of a very even temper, could not contain himself on seeing them; he was filled with rage and indignation, and was for attacking them with his broad sword and pistols, which he always took care to have about him. I had much ado to dissuade him from rushing upon them; but at length representing the ill consequences that would infallibly attend so rash an action, and the impossibility that either of us should escape alive. I made him lay aside the attempt, and persuaded him to sit down, and pretending not to know them, to ask them questions about himself; which he accordingly did, and they told him the truth. At last he enquired how the King their master did; they replied that he was dead, and by farther enquiry we found that amongst the goods for which he sold *Job* to Captain *Pyke* there was a pistol, which the King used commonly to wear slung by a string about his neck; and as they never carry arms without their being loaded, the pistol one day accidentally went off, and the balls lodging in his throat, he presently died. *Job* was so transported at the close of this story, that he immediately fell on his knees, and returned thanks to *Mahomet* for making him die by the very goods for which he sold him into slavery. Then turning to me, he cried, " You see now, Mr.

" *Moore,*

“ *Moore*, that God Almighty was displeased at
 “ this man’s making me a slave, and there-
 “ fore made him die by the very pistol for
 “ which he sold me : yet I ought to forgive
 “ him, because had not I been sold, I should
 “ neither have known any thing of the *Eng-*
 “ *lish* tongue, nor have had any of the fine,
 “ useful and valuable things, I have brought
 “ with me ; nor have known that there is such
 “ a place in the world as *England* ; nor such
 “ noble, good, and generous people as *Queen*
 “ *Caroline*, *Prince William*, the Duke of *Mon-*
 “ *tague*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, *Mr. Holden*, *Mr.*
 “ *Oglethorpe*, and the Royal *African Com-*
 “ *pany*.”

After this *Job* went frequently with me to *Cower*, and several other places about the country. He always spoke very handsomely of the *English*, and what he said removed much of that horror the *Pholey’s* felt for the state of slavery amongst them ; for they before generally imagined, that all who were sold for slaves, were at least murdered, if not eaten, since none ever returned. His descriptions also gave them an high opinion of the power of *England*, and a veneration for the *English*, who traded amongst them. He sold some of the presents he brought with him for trading goods, with which he bought a woman slave, and two horses, which he designed to take with him to *Bundo*. He gave his countrymen a good deal of writing paper, a very valuable commodity amongst them, and the company had made him a present of several ream. He used frequently to
 pray,

pray, and behaved with great affability and mildness to all, which rendered him extremely popular.

The messenger not returning so soon as was expected, *Job* desired to go down to *James' Fort*, to take care of his goods, and I promised not only to send him word when the messenger came back, but to send other messengers, for fear the first should have miscarried.

At length the messenger returned with several letters, and advice that *Job's* father was dead; but had lived to receive the letters his son had sent him from *England*, which gave him the welcome news of his being redeemed from slavery, and an account of the figure he made in *England*. That one of *Job's* wives was married to another man; but that as soon as the new husband had heard of his return, he thought it advisable to abscond; and that since *Job's* absence from his native country, there had been such a dreadful war, that the *Pholeys* there had not one cow left, though before *Job's* departure his countrymen were famed for their numerous herds. With this messenger came many of *Job's* old friends whom he was exceeding glad to see; but notwithstanding the joy their presence gave him, he shed abundance of tears for the loss of his father, and the misfortunes of his country. He forgave his wife, and the man who had taken her; "For Mr. Moore, said he, she could not help thinking I was dead; for I was gone to a land from whence no *Pholey* ever yet returned; therefore neither she, nor the man is to be blamed." During three or
four

four days he conversed with his friends without any interruption except to sleep or eat.

As I have brought this account almost to the time of my leaving this country, it will be necessary to give a more particular description of it, with respect to the climate, the general customs of the natives, and the trade carried on there.

As the mouth of the *Gambia* lies in the latitude of $13^{\circ} 20'$ north, and in $15^{\circ} 20'$ west longitude there is no wonder that the climate is excessive hot, but the greatest heats are generally about the latter end of *May*, a fortnight or three weeks before the rainy season begins. The sun is perpendicular twice in the year; and the days are never longer from sun-rising to sun-set than thirteen hours, nor ever shorter than eleven. What at first seemed to me strange; was that as soon as it grew light, the sun arose; and it no sooner set than it grew dark.

The rainy season commonly begins with the month of *June*, and continues till the latter end of *September*, or the beginning of *October*. The wind comes first, and blows excessive hard, for the space of half an hour or more, before any rain falls, so that a vessel may be suddenly surprized and overfet by it: a person may however perceive the signs of its coming; for the clouds grow very black, and the lightnings darting from them, have an awful appearance: both the thunder and the lightening are exceeding dreadful, the flashes succeeding each other so swiftly, as to render it continually light, while the thunder at the same time shakes the very ground. During the rain the air is
generally

generally pretty cool ; but the shower is no sooner over than the sun breaks out excessive hot, which induces some people to cast off their cloaths, and lie down to sleep ; but before they are awake, another tornado perhaps comes, when the cold strikes into their very bones, and gives them fits of illness, which to the *Europeans* are very fatal. During the rainy season the sea breezes seldom blow, but instead of them, easterly winds, which in the months of *November, December, January, and February* generally blow very fresh, and sometimes the evenings and mornings are exceeding cold, and the middle of the day very hot.

Four months in the year are unhealthful, and very tedious to those who come from a colder climate ; but a perpetual spring, in which you commonly see ripe fruit and blossoms on the same tree, makes some amends for that inconvenience. Besides the heat of the air is frequently moderated by pleasant and refreshing breezes.

The *Gambia* is of such a length as to be navigable for sloops above 600 miles, the tides reaching so far from its mouth. The land on each side of this great and fine river is for the most part flat and woody about a quarter of a mile beyond its banks, and within that space are pleasant open grounds, on which the natives plant rice, and in the dry season it serves the cattle for pasture. Thus within land it is generally very woody ; but near the towns there is always a large spot of ground cleared for corn. Near the sea, no hills are to be seen ;
but

but high up the river are lofty mountains. These are chiefly composed of iron stone, and though they are sometimes little else but a continued hard rock, they are full of trees, and serve greatly to beautify the face of the country.

In every Kingdom there are several persons called Lords of the soil, who have the property of all the palm and palmetto trees, so that none are allowed to draw any wine from them, without their knowledge and consent. Those who obtain leave to draw wine, give two days produce in a week, to the Lord of the soil; and white men are obliged to make a small present to them, before they cut palmetto leaves, or grafs, to cover their houses.

The palm is a fine strait tree that grows to a prodigious height, and out of it the natives extract a sort of white liquor like whey, called palm wine: by making an incision on the top of the trunk, to which they apply gourd bottles, and into these the liquor runs by means of a pipe made of leaves. This wine is very pleasant as soon as it is drawn, it being extraordinary sweet; but is apt to purge very much: however, in a day or two it ferments, and grows rough and strong like *Rhenish* wine; when not being at all prejudicial to the health, it is plentifully drank by the Negroes. It is very surprizing to see how nimbly the natives will go up these trees, which are sometimes sixty, seventy, or a hundred feet high, and the bark smooth. They have nothing to help them to climb, but a piece of the bark of a tree made round like a hoop, with which they enclose themselves

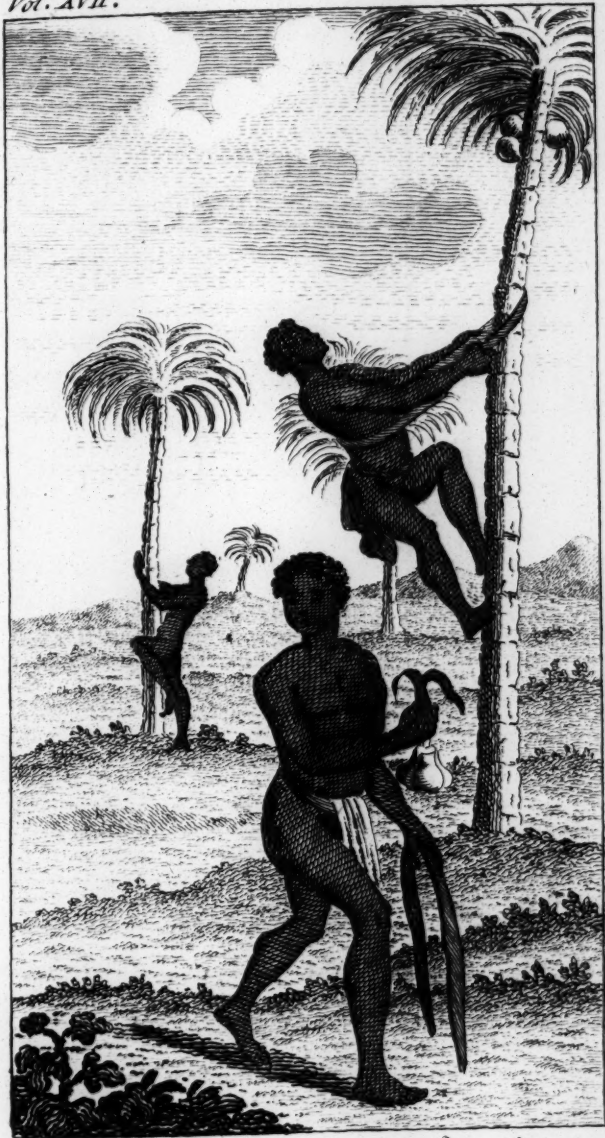
themselves and the tree, then fixing it under their arms they set their feet against the tree, and their backs against the hoop, and go up very fast : but sometimes they miss their footing ; or the bark on which they rest breaks or comes untied, when falling down, they lose their lives.

The ciboa or palmetto tree resembles the palm and grows to a great height : the leaves, which grow on the top, are used in covering houses, and the natives extract wine out of the palmetto, in the same manner as out of the palm. It is not quite so sweet as the palm wine ; but tastes not unlike it.

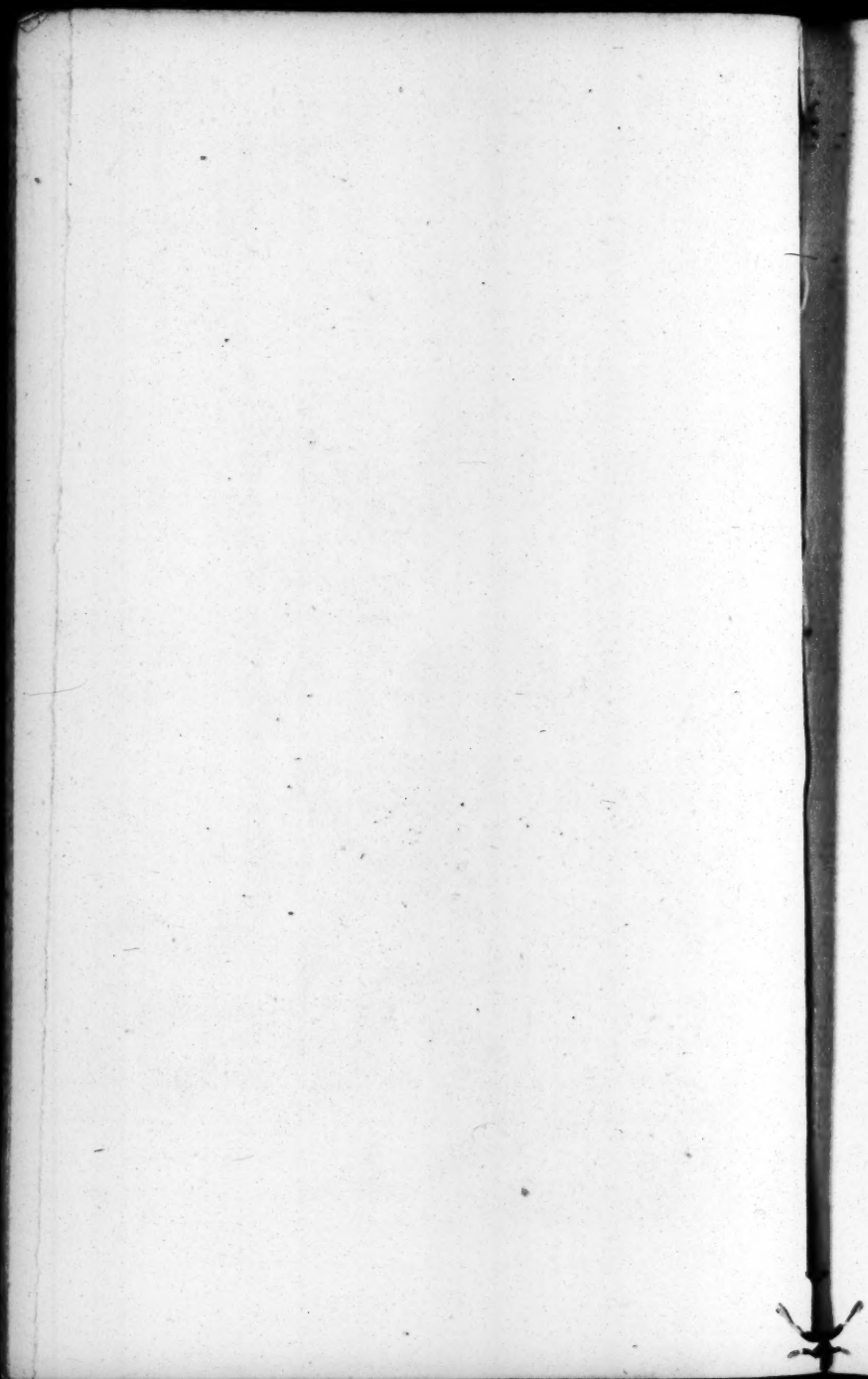
The people here, as in all other hot countries, marry their daughters very young ; even some are contracted as soon as they are born, and the parents can never after break the match ; but it is in the power of the man never to come and claim his wife, and yet without his consent she cannot marry another. Before a man takes his wife, he is obliged to pay her parents two cows, two iron bars, and 200 cola, a fruit that grows a great way within land ; it is an exceeding good bitter, and much resembles a horse-chestnut with the skin off.

When a man takes home his wife, he makes a feast at his own house, to which all who please come without the form of an invitation. The bride is brought thither upon men's shoulders, with a veil over her face, which she keeps on till she has been in bed with her husband, during which the people dance and sing, beat drums, and fire muskets,

After



Negro climbing a Palm Tree?



After the wife is brought to bed, she is not to lie with her husband for three years, if the child lives so long; for during that term the child sucks, and they are firmly persuaded that lying with their husbands would spoil their milk, and render the child liable to many diseases. The women alone are subject to all the mortifications attending so long an abstinence; for every man is allowed to take as many wives as he pleases: but if the wife is found false to her husband, she is liable to be sold for a slave. Upon any dislike, a man may turn off his wife, and make her take all her children with her; but if he has a mind to take any of them himself, he generally chuses such as are big enough to assist him in providing for his family. He has even the liberty of coming several years after they have parted, and taking from her any of the children he had by her. But if a man is disposed to part with a wife who is pregnant, he cannot oblige her to go till she is delivered.

The women are kept in the greatest subjection; and the men, to render their power as compleat as possible, influence their wives to give them an unlimited obedience, by all the force of fear and terror. For this purpose the *Mundingos* have a kind of image eight or nine feet high, made of the bark of trees, dressed in a long coat, and crowned with a whisp of straw. This is called a *Mumbo Jumbo*; and whenever the men have any dispute with the women, this is sent for to determine the contest, which is almost always done in favour of

the men. One who is in the secret, conceals himself under the coat, and bringing in the image, is the oracle on these occasions. No one is allowed to come armed into his presence. When the women hear him coming, they run away and hide themselves; but if you are acquainted with the person concealed in the *Mumbo Jumbo*, he will send for them all to come, make them sit down, and afterwards either sing or dance, as he pleases; and if any refuse to come, he will send for, and whip them. Whenever any one enters into this society, they swear in the most solemn manner never to divulge the secret to any woman, or to any person that is not entered into it; and to preserve the secret inviolable, no boys are admitted under sixteen years of age. The people also swear by the *Mumbo Jumbo*, and the oath is esteemed irrevocable. There are very few towns of any note that have not one of these objects of terror, to frighten the poor women into obedience.

About the year 1727, the King of *J. gra* having a very inquisitive woman to his wife, was so weak as to disclose to her this secret, and she being a gossip, revealed it to some other women of her acquaintance. This at last coming to the ears of some who were no friends to the King, they, dreading lest if the affair took vent, it should put a period to the subjection of their wives, they took the coat, put a man into it, and going to the King's town, sent for him out, and taxed him with it; when he not denying it, they sent for his wife,

wife, and killed them both on the spot. Thus the poor King died for his complaisance to his wife, and she for her curiosity.

The women pay such respect to their husbands, that when a man has been a day or two from home his wives salute him on their knees, and in the same posture they always give him water to drink.

When a child is new born they dip him over head and ears in cold water three or four times in a day, and as soon as he is dry, rub him over with palm oil, particularly the back-bone; the small of the back, the elbows, neck, knees, and hips. When they are born they are of an olive colour, and sometimes do not turn black till they are a month or two old.

I do not find that they are here born with flat noses; but the mothers when they wash the children, press down the upper part of the nose: for large breasts, thick lips, and broad nostrils, are esteemed extremely beautiful. One breast is generally larger than the other.

About a month afterwards they name the child, which is done by shaving its head, and rubbing it over with oil, and a short time before the rainy season begins, they circumcise a great number of boys, of about twelve or fourteen years of age, after which the boys put on a peculiar habit; the dress of each kingdom being different: from the time of their circumcision to that of the rains, they are allowed to commit what outrages they please, without being called to an account for them; and when the first rain falls, the term of

this licentiousness being expired, they put on their proper habit.

I have already observed, that the *Mundings* are fond of the flesh of crocodiles, and their eggs, but their most common food is called cooscoosh, which is pounded corn sifted thro' a fine basket, till it is of the fineness of coarse flour; and this is put into an earthen vessel full of holes like a cullender, luted to an earthen pot, in which is boiling water, and sometimes broth, the steam of which cures the flour, and when it is done, they mix it with the water or broth, and eat it with their hands. Fish dried in the sun or smoaked, is a great favourite of theirs; but the stronger it smells the more they like it. They are so little delicate with respect to their provisions, that there is scarce any thing which they do not eat; large snakes, guanas, monkeys, pelicans, bald eagles, and sea horses, are esteemed excellent food.

The people are naturally very jocular and merry, and will dance to a drum or ballaseu, sometimes four and twenty hours together, now and then dancing very regularly, and at other times using very odd gestures, striving always to outdo each other in nimbleness and activity.

The behaviour of the natives to strangers is really not so disagreeable as people are apt to imagine; for when I went through any of their towns, they almost all came to shake hands with me, except some of the women, who having never before seen a white man, ran away from me as fast as they could, and would

would not by any means be persuaded to come near me. Some of the men invited me to their houses, and brought their wives and daughters to see me, who then sat down by me, and always found something to wonder at and admire, as my boots, spurs, cloaths, or wig.

Some of the *Mundings* have many slaves in their houses, and in these they pride themselves. They live so well and easily, that it is sometimes difficult to know the slaves from their masters and mistresses; they being frequently better clothed, especially the females, who have sometimes coral, amber, and silver about their waists to the value of 20 or 30 l. sterling.

In almost every town they have a kind of drum of a very large size, called a Tangtong, which they only beat at the approach of an enemy, or on some very extraordinary occasion, to call the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns to their assistance; and this in the night-time may be heard six or seven miles.

There was a custom in this country which is not thoroughly repealed, that whatever commodity a man sells in the morning, he may, if he repents his bargain, go and have it returned to him again, on his paying back the money any time before the setting of the sun the same day: this custom is still in force very high up the river; but below it is pretty well worn out.

Whenever any factories are settled, it is customary to put them, and the persons belonging to them, under the charge of the people

ple of the nearest large town, who are obliged to take care of it, and to let none impose upon the white men, or use them ill, and if any body is abused, he must apply to the Alcalde, the head man of the town, who will see that justice is done him. This man is, up the river, called the white man's King ; and has besides very great power. Almost every town has two common fields, one for their corn, and the other for their rice, and he appoints the labour of the people : he sees that the men work in the corn fields, and the women and girls in the rice grounds, and afterwards divides the crop among them. He likewise decides all quarrels, and has the first voice in all conferences relating to any thing belonging to the town.

The trade of the natives consists in gold, slaves, elephants teeth, and bees-wax. The gold is finer than sterling, and is brought in small bars, big in the middle, and turned round into rings, from 10 to 40 s. each. The merchants who bring this, and other inland commodities, are blacks of the *Mundingo* race, called *Joncoes*, who say, that the gold is not washed out of the sand, but dug out of mines in the mountains, the nearest of which is twenty days journey up the river. In the country where the mines are, they say there are houses built with stone, and covered with terrass ; and that the short cutlasses and knives of good steel, which they bring with them, are made there.

The same merchants bring down elephants teeth, and in some years slaves to the amount of 2000, most of whom they say are prisoners
of

of war ; and bought of the different Princes by whom they are taken. The way of bringing them is by tying them by the neck with leather thongs, at about a yard distance from each other, thirty or forty in a string, having generally a bundle of corn, or an elephant's tooth upon each of their heads. In their way from the mountains they travel through extensive woods, where they cannot for some days get water ; they therefore carry in skin bags enough to support them for that time. I cannot be certain of the number of merchants who carry on this trade ; but there may perhaps be about a hundred, who go up into the inland country with the goods, which they buy from the white men, and with them purchase, in various countries, gold, slaves, and elephants teeth. They use asses, as well as slaves in carrying their goods, but no camels nor horses.

Besides the slaves brought down by the Negro merchants, there are many bought along the river, who are either taken in war like the former, or condemned for crimes, or stolen by the people : but the company's servants never buy any which they suspect to be of the last sort, till they have sent for the Alcalde, and consulted with him. Since this slave trade has been used, all punishments are changed into slavery ; and the natives reaping advantage from such condemnations, they strain hard for crimes, in order to obtain the benefit of selling the criminal ; hence not only murder, adultery and theft are here punished by selling
the

the malefactor ; but every trifling crime is also punished in the same manner. Thus at *Can-tore*, a man seeing a tyger eating a deer, which he himself had killed and hung up near his house, fired at the tyger, but unhappily shot a man : when the King had not only the cruelty to condemn him for this accident ; but had the injustice and inhumanity to order also his mother, his three brothers, and his three sisters to be sold. They were brought down to me at *Yamyamacunda*, when it made my heart ache to see them ; but on my refusing to make this cruel purchase, they were sent farther down the river, and sold to some separate traders at *Joar*, and the vile avaricious King had the benefit of the goods for which they were sold.

Indeed the cruelty and villainy of some of these Princes can scarcely be conceived. Thus, whenever the King of *Barsally*, some of whose villainies I have already mentioned, wants goods or brandy, he sends to the Governor of *James'* fort, to desire him to send a sloop there with a proper cargo, which is readily complied with. Mean while the King goes and ransacks some of his enemies towns, and seizing the innocent people, sells them to the factors in the sloop, for such commodities as he wants, as brandy, rum, guns, gunpowder, ball, pistols and cutlasses, for his attendants and soldiers, with coral and silver for his wives and concubines : but in case he is not at war with any neighbouring King, he then falls upon one of his own towns, which are very numerous, and uses them in the same manner, selling

selling them for slaves, whom he is bound by every obligation to protect.

Several of the natives of these countries have many slaves born in their families: thus there is a whole village near *Brucos* of 200 people, who are the wives, slaves, and children of one man. And though in some parts of *Africa*, they sell the slaves born in the family; yet this is here thought extremely wicked; and I never heard but of one person who ever sold a family slave, except for such crimes as would have authorised its being done, had he been free. Indeed, if there are many slaves in the family, and one of them commits a crime, the master cannot sell him without the joint consent of the rest: for if he does, they will all run away to the next kingdom, where they will find protection.

Ivory, or elephants teeth, is the next principal article of commerce. These are obtained either by hunting and killing the beasts, or are picked up in the woods. This is a trade used by all the nations hereabouts; for whoever kills an elephant, has the liberty of selling him and his teeth: but those traded for in this river are generally brought from a good way within land. The largest tooth I ever saw weighed 130 pounds.

The fourth branch of trade consists in bees-wax. The *Mundingo*s make beehives of straw shaped like ours, and fixing to each a bottom board, in which is a hole, for the bees to go in and out, hang them on the boughs of trees. They smother the bees in order to take the
combs,

combs, and pressing out the honey, of which they make a kind of metheglin, boil up the wax with water, strain it, and press it through hair cloths into holes made in the ground.

At length, on the 8th of *April* 1735, having delivered up the company's effects to Mr. *James Conner*, I embarked on board the company's sloop: among other persons, *Job* came down with me to the sloop, and parted with me with tears in his eyes, at the same time giving me letters to the Duke of *Montague*, the Royal *African* company, Mr. *Oglethorpe*, and several other gentlemen in *England*, telling me to give his love and duty to them, and to acquaint them, that as he designed to learn to write the *English* tongue, he would, when he was master of it, send them longer epistles; desiring me, that as I had lived with him almost ever since he came there, I would let his Grace and the other Gentlemen know what he had done; and that he was going to the gum-forest, and would endeavour to produce so good an understanding between the company and the *Ptoleys*, that he did not doubt but that the *English* would procure the gum-trade: adding, that he would spend his days in endeavouring to do good to the *English*, by whom he had been redeemed from slavery, and from whom he had received innumerable favours.

Soon after he returned on shore, while I sailed to *England*, and at length, on the 13th of *July*, landed at *Deal*;



A
D E S C R I P T I O N
Of the Country up the
S E N E G A L.

A concise Description of the River Senegal, and of Fort Lewis near its Mouth: with an account of the Conquest of that Fort, and the Island of Goree.

THE river *Senegal* or *Senega*, is thought to be one of those channels of the *Niger*, by which it is supposed to discharge its waters into the *Atlantic* ocean. The river *Niger* rises in the east of *Africa*, and after a course of 3000 miles, nearly west, according to some authors, divides into three branches, the most northerly of which is the *Senegal*, the middle of the *Gambia*, already described, and the southern *Rio Grande*.

The *Senegal* discharges itself into the *Atlantic* ocean in 16°. north latitude. Nothing can be

be more beautiful than the banks of this river, which are adorned with lofty trees of different kinds, filled with a variety of birds, some blue, some red, and some black, of the size of a linnet, and of the brightest colours; and with squirrels and monkeys, that divert the passengers, by playing a thousand comical tricks: But they are very destructive to the plantations of the natives, and when they find an opportunity, enter their cottages, where they never fail to spoil more than they consume, on which account they make continual war upon them.

The country abounds with lions and elephants, the latter of which are so tame, that they are not frightened at the sight of men, and do them no hurt, if they are not first attacked. The low grounds are in some places covered with thorn trees of a prodigious height, which bear great bunches of bright yellow flowers of a fragrant smell; the bark, of these trees is of different colours, some red, others white, black or green; the colour of the timber nearly resembles that of the bark, and from its hardness seems a species of the ebony, and yet the flowers of all are exactly the same.

We shall not tire the reader, by giving a description of the different tribes of Negroes on the banks of the *Senegal*, or with a more particular account of the produce in the country; it is sufficient to say, that in these respects they nearly agree with Mr. Moore's account of those of the *Gambia*, and that a more minute

minute detail would engage us in disagreeable repetitions, that would afford neither much entertainment nor instruction.

The entrance of the *Senegal* is guarded by several forts, the principal of which is Fort *Lewis*, built on a small island of the same name, about twelve miles up the river. It is a quadrangular building with two bastions of no inconsiderable strength. At the mouth of the river is a bar: the best season for passing it is from *March* to *September*. The *English* had formerly settlements here, out of which they were driven by the *French* in 1678. They were, however, seized by the *English* in 1692; but the next year the *French* retook them, and kept them till the present war. They built Fort *Lewis* in 1692, and beyond it they had a multitude of other settlements, extending 600 miles up the river. The principal commodities the *French* have imported from these settlements are, gum senega, a very valuable drug, of great use in several manufactures, elephants teeth, hides, bees-wax, cotton, gold dust, Negro slaves, ostrich feathers, ambergris, indigo, and civet.

On the 24th of *April*, 1758, a small squadron commanded by Captain *Marble*, consisting of the *Nassau* of 64 guns, the *Harwich* of 50 guns, the *Rye* of 24 guns, with the *Swan* sloop and two busses, arrived off the river *Senegal*, and after sounding the entrance, the small vessels and barks got over the bar, on the 29th, upon which the enemy with seven vessels, three of which were armed with ten guns each, made a

shew of attacking our small craft, and kept a kind of running fire; but were soon obliged to retire up the river. Seven hundred marines and seamen then landed, and got the artillery on shore. But the next day, when they were proceeding to *Fort Lewis*, deputies arrived from the superior council of *Senegal*, with articles of capitulation; and after some alterations being made in them; it was agreed, that all the forts, storehouses, vessels, arms, provisions, and every thing belonging to the *French*, should be put in possession of the *English*; that the white people belonging to the company, with their private effects, except merchandize and uncoined treasure, should be landed in *France*; and that both the free Mulattoes and Negroes, should enjoy their religion and all they possessed, and be allowed to retire if they chose it.

In consequence of this agreement, Major *Mason*, with the marines, took possession of *Fort Lewis* on the 2d of *May*, when he found in it 232 *French* officers and soldiers; 92 pieces of cannon; with treasure, slaves and merchandize, to a considerable value; and in the harbour were taken 16 vessels, most of them richly laden.

This important acquisition was followed by the taking of several other settlements of the *French*, particularly of the island of *Gorce*, near *Cape Verd*. This island consists of a low narrow piece of land, and a small, but very steep mountain, the whole only half a mile in length. Notwithstanding its confined extent, the situation renders it a very agreeable place. Towards
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the south you enjoy a prospect terminated only by the sea : and to the northward, you discover at a distance *Cape Verd*, and all the other Capes and neighbouring Promontories. Tho' it is in the Torrid Zone, you here breathe a temperate air, almost all the year, owing to the equality of the days and nights, and its being continually refreshed by breezes from the land and sea. It is adorned with some handsome buildings ; the gardens are planted with excellent fruit trees ; and the whole island is in a manner covered with fortifications. It was, however, taken on the 29th of *December*, 1758, by a squadron under the command of Commodore *Keppel*, with a very inconsiderable loss ; by which all the *French* settlements in *Africa* became in our possession.





A
J O U R N E Y
T O
M E Q U I N E Z,
In the Kingdom of
M O R O C C O.

C H A P. I.

The Author lands with the Ambassador at the Bay of Tetuan. The Reception they meet with from the Bassa, who conducs them to the City of Tetuan, which is described, with an Account of the Dresses, Manners and Customs of the Moors.

THE Honourable Charles Stewart, Esq; being sent to treat of a peace with the Emperor of Morocco, landed in the bay of Tetuan on the 6th of May, 1720, at about nine o'clock

o'clock in the morning, when we † found a sufficient number of tents pitched for our convenience, and among them a fine large one, which the Ambassador made choice of to eat in on his journey. Our first entertainment was in this tent, where they brought plenty of cucufu, fowls, and a sheep roasted whole, upon a great wooden spit, which they set upon the table, spit and all. Between three and four o'clock the Bassa, came down attended by about 200 horse and 300 foot, who having entered the camp firing and cavalcading, threw themselves into the form of an half moon before our tent, where we had the diversion of seeing them exercise above an hour. This they performed with great activity, the Bassa and his brother often heading parties of horse, who all together clapping their spurs to their horses sides, levelled their pieces and fired at each other, as if they were attacking an enemy. After this they took their spears and singled out each other to tilt, dexterously putting by the thrust of the spear, tho' made at their backs, while their horses were on full speed. Mean while the foot kept a continual irregular firing, every man charging his piece, and firing into the ground as fast as he could. Their drums made a warlike sound, and were beaten with a heavy stick on the top, and a small one at the bottom, keeping time to a pipe, that had some resemblance to a fife, and sounded very

† The Author is Mr. *Windus*, a gentleman in the Ambassador's retinue.

loud and shrill. The cavalcade being over, the Bassa welcomed the Ambassador to *Barbary*, and invited him to his tent, where he told him, that he would do all in his power to render the country agreeable to him ; and that he liked the *English* better than any other *Christian* nation, and some other compliments having passed between them, they parted.

The next morning the Ambassador visited the Bassa at his tent, who having renewed his compliments, a row of fine horses were drawn up, which made a noble appearance, many of their saddles being entirely covered with plate ; the Bassa then politely desired the Ambassador to take which he liked best : which having done, each of us chose for ourselves, and then set forwards.

The *Moors* almost all the way to *Tetuan*, which is about six miles, continued firing and cavalcading. On our entering the town, we were received by great crowds of people shouting, and the women all in white, and muffled up, so that no part of them could be seen but their eyes, were pressed together upon the tops of the houses, as thick as they could stand. The Bassa drew up his people in a large square before his house, where he and his brothers, finely mounted, shewed us again their dexterity at the spear, tilting, and sometimes darting their lances into the air before them, and catching them again with their horses on full speed. The Ambassador was then conducted to the house allotted for him, which was one of the
best

best in *Tetuan*, and a stable of horses was appointed for his use, and that of his retinue.

On the 8th, the Ambassador paid a visit to the Bassa, who received him in an outer room, built long and narrow, like most of the rooms in *Barbary*. There were two chairs placed opposite to each other, in which the Ambassador and Bassa sat down, and talked about an hour and a half, during which, eight or ten of the principal *Moor*s of the town stood behind the bassa. The conference being over, we were shewn the Bassa's gardens and stables.

On the 15th we dined in a garden which the Bassa had lately planted about three miles from *Tetuan*. It is situated in a pleasant valley almost surrounded with hills and mountains, which being green and woody, afford on every side a most delightful prospect. A stream runs through the garden, which with great labour was conveyed thither from an adjacent mountain. The Governor of *Tetuan*, who was one of the Ambassador's brothers, came just after dinner, and walking with us, was so complaisant, as to gather, and give us the best fruit. The walks are separated by cane work, and there is a handsome arbour of the same materials, in which is a basin supplied with water from the above stream, which the Ambassador filled with punch; but it was with some difficulty he persuaded the Governor to drink two or three glasses. This arbour was rendered very delightful by a great number of carnations growing through the cane work, and in at the windows. The Governor was attended by
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his music, which consisted of two persons playing on small instruments, after the manner of violins; one had a piece of parchment drawn tight over a small hoop, with pieces of loose tin on the sides, which he shook with one hand, while he drummed on it with the other, and another person beat time to their music, by striking the palms of his hands together, very loud, and with great dexterity. This part of the country abounds with fine oranges, lemons, citrons, grapes, apricots, pomegranates, melons, figs and olives. -

On the 20th we went with the Bassa to hunt the wild boar, in the mountains between *Tetuan* and *Ceuta*, when we killed six, and took three young ones alive. The spears used by the foot, are not above half as large as those carried by the horse, they are made of a heavy and tough wood, with the blade about half a yard long, and very thick, to prevent their breaking. A great number of foot went with us thus armed, who getting upon the hills, by their shouting raised the boars from the woods and thickets, and brought them in view for the chase. If one of these men is attacked by a boar, he does not shew the least sign of fear; but putting himself in as firm a posture as he can, he receives the boar on his spear, who goars himself up to the end of the blade, where an iron goes across, to stop the spear from running through, otherwise the boar pressing on, would reach the man, and wound him with his tusks.

Tetuan, which is a very ancient city, was called by the *Romans* *Tetuanum*, and gives name to
a large

a large province. It is situated at the opening of the streights into the *Mediterranean*, upon the ascent of a rocky hill between two high mountains, about six miles from the sea, and has a castle built higher on the hill, that has a full command of the town. Through the valley runs a little river navigable for small vessels as far as *Marteen*, a place about two miles from the bay, where they load and unload their goods.

Tetuan is well built; but the streets are very narrow, and there are hardly any windows to be seen, except little holes to look out at: the light being admitted at the inside where there is a square court open at the top, with pillars supporting galleries, and painted wooden balustrades. The houses are but two stories high, except the *Bassa's* and a few others, belonging to particular men. They are flat at the top, so that in many places the inhabitants can walk a great way upon them; but those belonging to the *Christian* merchants have battlements, to keep them within the bounds of their own houses; for the *Moarish* women live in the upper apartments, and often visit one another from the tops of their houses: They are white washed on the outside as well as within, which renders the reflection of the sun so bright, as to be painful to the eyes. Their walls are not raised by laying brick or stone even upon one another; but they make a strong wooden case, into which they cast the mortar, and beating it down hard, take the case away when it is dry.

The

The shops are very small, and have no doors; but the master having opened the shutters jumps in, and sits cross-legged, upon a place raised about the height of a counter. The goods are disposed in drawers round about him, which he can for the most part reach without moving out of his place, his customers standing in the street while they are served.

The town is populous and healthful; but the people are poor and possess nothing but at the pleasure of the Bassa, who gives or takes away houses, lands, or whatever he pleases. Therefore when a man by his diligence and industry has acquired wealth, he endeavours to conceal it, and seem poor; for if it should come to the knowledge of the Bassa, he might throw him into prison, and cause him to be bastinadoed to make him discover all his treasures.

The people are of a swarthy complexion, intermixed with a race of well-looking men, somewhat fairer than the rest: they are generally lusty, strong-limbed, active, laborious, and patient of labour and fatigue, enduring with surprising resolution the heats of summer, and the cold rains of winter. A messenger will go from *Tetuan* to *Mequinez*, which is 150 miles, for a *Barbary* ducat, and in the midst of a storm of rain, he will only look out for a bush or high stone, and sitting down on his hams with his back towards it, remain in that posture the whole night, or if the weather be fair, he will wrap himself in his cloaths, and pass the night upon the grass. 'Tis said that the most famous footmen of the country will go sixty leagues in three days.

days. They swim the rivers in the depth of winter, if not deterred by the rapidity of the current; and for a journey of seven or eight days carry only a little meal, and a few raisins or figs in a small goat's skin.

They have no settled post in the country, the ordinary way of sending letters being by these footmen, who are nearly as expeditious as horses. Nor have they any kind of wheel carriage; their light goods are removed from place to place, if not far, on horses; but when they have great quantities either of corn, wax, hides, or the like, and go far, they use camels.

The dress of the people is not ungraceful. The men wear short shirts with very broad sleeves that sometimes hang down, but are more frequently tucked up to keep them cool. They have linen breeches tied about their waists next the skin. They go bare legged, but wear slippers of red or yellow leather, without heels. Over their shirt they wear a cloth vest, or waistcoat, very short, and made to fit close to the body; it is fastened with small buttons and loops set close together, and is often embroidered with gold or silver thread. Round the waist they wear a scarf of silk or stuff, in which they stick large knives, with the handles either of some valuable metal, or ivory inlaid, and the sheaths are tipped with silver. Their outer garment is either the alhague, or albornoce; the former is a piece of fine white woollen stuff five or six yards long, and about one and a half broad, which they wrap round them above and below their arms; this dress
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resembles the drapery of antique figures : the albernooce is either made of cloth or woollen stuff napt, and somewhat resembles a short cloak, but is joined a little way before from the neck downwards, having two or three rows of short stripes worked in the stuff and fringed at the ends for ornament ; the bottom and sides are edged with a deep fringe ; and behind at the neck there hangs a peaked cowl, with a tassel at the end, which they can cover their heads with to keep off the weather. On their heads, which they always keep shaved, they wear a little red cap, which they make into a turbant by rolling muslin about it : but when they go into the country they wear a handsome cane hat to keep off the sun. The Alcaydes have a broad leather belt embroidered with gold to hang their scymitars in, which they wear over their shoulder.

The *Moors* in general are dressed after this manner, without any other difference than in the richness and fineness of the stuffs ; only the upper garment of the poorest sort is a coarse thick woollen cloth with holes to put their arms through instead of sleeves. This reaches to their knees, and hangs loose about their bodies.

When the women go abroad, they are dressed almost like the men, their upper garment being an alhague, with which they cover their heads, bringing it down over their foreheads close to their eyes, and underneath tie a piece of white cloth, to hide the lower part of the face : the alhague covers all but their legs, which,
when

when they are at home, or visit from the tops of their houses, are generally naked ; only some of superior rank have their drawers so long, that they reach to their feet, and hang in great loose folds about their legs. They wear the same kind of slippers as the men. Within doors, they have only a single binder about their foreheads, and their hair hangs behind in two large plats at full length. At home they also wear a vest open from the bosom to the waist, to shew their embroidered smocks ; and they fasten large pieces of muslin to the sleeves of their vests, which hang down very low in the nature of ruffles ; over their drawers they wear a short petticoat ; besides they have bracelets on their arms and legs, and large ear-rings in their ears.

The women have fine eyes, and some of them very beautiful skins, which we had sometimes an opportunity of observing ; for tho' a man may live a year in *Tetuan* without seeing the face of a *Moorish* woman in the streets, yet when we met them in the fields, or saw them on the house tops, if none of the *Moors* were in sight, they would unveil, and laugh, till the appearance of one obliged them to hide their faces again.

When any of the *Moors* have a mind to entertain their neighbours, the women go to the top of the house, and continue there till the guests are gone ; their general entertainment consists of *cus-cusu*, which is thus made : they put fine flour into a large flat pan, and sprinkling it with water, roll it up into small balls ; these are put into a kind of cullender that serves for

the cover of a pot, where meat and fowls are a stewing, so that it receives the heat and steam: when it is enough they pour strong broth into it, and putting the meat and fowls at top serve it up. They sit cross-legged on the floor, putting their dishes upon a large piece of greasy leather, that serves both for table, and table cloth. Their dishes are either of pewter or earthenware, wide at the top, and narrow at the bottom, somewhat like a high crowned hat turned with the crown downwards. While they eat, a servant stands by with a great bowl of water in one hand, and a narrow long piece of blue linnen in the other, to wipe their right hands, with which they pull the victuals to pieces, which are generally stewed to rags. They never use the left hand in eating; because that is always used on necessary occasions. They eat without speaking, and after their meals drink water, their religion forbidding them wine and all other intoxicating liquors except cyder; yet most of them will get drunk with strong liquors of any kind, if they can get it. They are so fond of butter-milk, which is their chief desert, that when they would speak of the extraordinary sweetness of any thing they compare it to that. A large black pitcher of it is generally brought in, with a wooden ladle, which is presented to the most considerable person, and from him it passes round the company several times.

Their butter, which is bad, is made of all the milk as it comes from the cow, by putting it into a skin, and shaking it, till the butter separates

parates from it. They bury it in the ground to make it keep, and do not dislike it when it is three or four years old. They also wrap up the cawls, suet and fat of cows, sheep and goats in great rolls, which in winter are sold to the poor instead of butter. Their bread is however extremely good and cheap.

While in their houses they are always sitting on matts, or lying ; and if they go out on foot, it is never farther than to make a visit, unless their business requires it ; but they daily spend five or six hours sitting on their hams before their doors, thinking it most ridiculous to walk up and down a room : Why, say they, should a man move from one end of the room to the other, without apparent cause ? Can he not as well stay in the place he is in, as go to the other end, merely in order to come back again.

C H A P. II.

They proceed on their Journey to Mequinez, which they enter, and obtaining an Audience of the Emperor, are shewn the Palace, which is particularly described. The Cruelty of the Government, the natural Fertility of the Country, the Misery of the People and the Articles of their Commerce.

ON the 13th of June we began our Journey to Mequinez, and on the 18th coming within two miles of *Alcassar*, we were met by the Governor of *Tangier*, who came towards us with a spear carried upright by a slave at his horse's head. After he had welcomed the Ambassador, we were conducted towards the town with a number of lusty *Moors* tilting before us ; the drums were beating, strange sorts of music playing, and great crowds of people pressing so close upon us, that they could not be kept off by the blows of our guards, till we came to the tents that were pitched close to the walls of *Alcassar*.

On the left of the road almost all the way from *Tetuan* to *Alcassar*, runs a ridge of very high mountains, called by the *Moors*, the mountains of *Habib* : the inhabitants of which cannot be reduced to the same degree of subjection as the rest of the country : yet upon civil treatment bring the Bassa a contribution ; but when
used

used ill, revenge themselves by infesting the roads, and robbing and destroying travellers, retiring when they see occasion, to their retreats in the mountains, where it would be difficult to hurt them; whence the Bassa rather chuses to take peaceably, what they voluntarily send him, than to enrage them, by attempting violent measures.

Alcassar was once an important city, and the seat of the Governor of this part of the kingdom; but it is now fallen to decay, so that of fifteen mosques, there are only two in which service is performed. Here are a great number of storks which live very familiarly with the people, walking about the town, and possessing the tops of the mosques and the houses; but tho' they are esteemed sacred birds, they are not free enough to enter in and shelter themselves from the heat of the sun, and therefore some of them drop down dead every day.

On the 26th we left *Alcassar*, and proceeding on our journey, on the first of *July* passed by the ruins of a very ancient and noble stone building, called by the natives *Pharaoh's* castle. These ruins are situated on a hill of an easy ascent, about 140 miles south of *Tetuan*, and 16 north-east of *Mequinez*. One of the buildings seems part of a triumphal arch, there being several broken stones that have inscriptions lying underneath. It is 56 feet long, 15 thick; and the portal is 20 feet wide, and about 26 in height.

At about 100 yards from this arch stands part of the front of a large square building.

140 feet long, and about 60 high ; part of the four corners are yet standing ; and both this structure and the gate are adorned with pilasters some of which have capitals that resemble the *Corinthian* order.

The country we had hitherto passed is very pleasant and fertile ; the plains, in many places, abounding in corn and cattle, and the hills and mountains yielding plenty of olives ; tho' a great part lies waste and uncultivated, not so much from the want of a sufficient number of inhabitants, as from the oppressions of the government, which make the people chuse to live at some distance from the high roads, and seldom cultivate more land than is necessary for their subsistence.

On the 3d we entered the city of *Mequinez*, a little before the sun arose, to avoid the prodigious crowd we should have met with had the day been much farther advanced, by which means we got to our house with very little interruption.

On the 6th about seven in the morning, the Emperor sent an Alcayde with a guard to conduct the Ambassador to him. We passed thro' the streets in the following order : first there were two serjeants on horseback followed by our music, which played all the way ; then came the Ambassador with his liverymen on each side, and after him the gentlemen of the retinue, followed by several servants on horseback. The Alcayde who commanded the guard, would not suffer the *Moors* out of the Emperor's service, to come near us, the guards therefore laid
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on unmercifully, and sometimes knocked the people down.

We dismounted at the outward gate of the palace, and passing through three or four large court yards, sat down under some piazzas for about half an hour. Then word being brought that the Emperor was come out, we were led into a spacious place, where we saw him mounted with an umbrella held over his head; his courtiers stood barefooted on each side in the habit of slaves, and behind him his guards were drawn up in the figure of an half moon.

We marched towards the Emperor with our music playing, till we came within about eighty yards of him, when the old monarch alighting from his horse, prostrated himself on the earth to pray, and continued some minutes with his face so close to the earth, that when we came up to him, the dust remained upon his nose. When he had done he instantly mounted, and took a lance in his hand.

The Ambassador and we bowed as we approached the Emperor, when nodding his head, he cried several times *Bono*, and bad the Ambassador be covered, with which he complied, and at the same time delivered his Majesty's letter tied up in a silk handkerchief, into the Emperor's hand, observing, that he was come from the King of *Great-Britain*, his Master, to settle peace, friendship and a good understanding between the two crowns, and that he had brought him a present, which he hoped he would accept. The Emperor replied, he should have every thing he came for, because he loved the

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English ; and that such of the *Moors* whom the Ambassador had brought over with him as were able, should pay their ransom, and those who were not, the Bassa of *Tetuan* should pay for ; but recollecting himself, he added, the *English* make no slaves nor sell any. Upon which the Ambassador told him, he hoped he would have the same regard for the King his Master's subjects, and admit them to return home into their own country ; a charity becoming so potent a monarch. Soon after the Emperor speaking to the Bassa of *Tetuan*, the latter prostrated himself on the earth, kissed it, and arising, went up to the Emperor, and kissed his foot : which they all do very often when he talks to them, and then retire backwards into their places again.

The Emperor was mounted on a black horse. His Negroes fanned and beat the flies from the horse with cloths and the umbrella was constantly kept twirling over his head to produce a little wind, the man that carried it also taking care to move as his horse did, that no sun might come upon the Emperor. His dress differed little from that of his Bassas : but the handle of his scimitar was of gold, and set with large emeralds ; and his saddle was covered with scarlet cloth embroidered with gold, with one pistol in a cloth case, on the left side.

On our leaving the Emperor, which we did by going backwards a good way, we were conducted by his Majesty's order to see the palace. We were first led into a large square building with piazzas all round : this was the Queen of the *Xeriph's* apartment. The arches
were

were wrought with plaister fret work in flowers, and supported by neat stone pillars : the bottom and side for about five feet high, were chequered with tiles of several colours, as were all the apartments, walks, passages, and underneath the arches, which gave a beautiful air of neatness to the buildings. From thence we were led into a magazine near a quarter of a mile long, and not above thirty feet broad : in which were hung up great quantities of arms in cases.

We were then carried into another large and spacious building with piazzas all round, like the former, where lived two of the Emperor's wives much esteemed by him.

From thence passing through some neat long walks and passages of chequer-work, we came to another building, that had a large garden in the middle, planted round with tall cypress trees : the garden is sunk 60 or 70 feet below the foundation of the building, over which runs a terrass walk, from one side to the other, about half a mile long, and 15 or 16 feet broad, all the way shaded at the top with vines and other greens, supported by strong and well made wood work. In this walk was a chariot that went with springs, and a small calash, in which, we were told, the Emperor was sometimes drawn by women and eunuchs.

We passed through several other squares and long buildings, now and then seeing the *Christians* upon the top of high walls, beating down the mortar with heavy pieces of wood, something like those used by our paviours in driv-

driving down the stones : these they all raise together, and keep time in their strokes.

After we had been about three hours viewing the palace, we were again conducted to the Emperor, who was on horseback viewing a magazine of lances and other arms. At the approach of the Ambassador, he asked him how he liked his palace ? The Ambassador said it was one of the noblest on the face of the earth ; at which the Emperor said *Thank God*. Some *English* boys then falling prostrate, and giving him the usual salutation, *God bless thy power* ; the Emperor asked of what nation they were, and being told they were *English*, he bid them go home with the Ambassador, and see him to bed : upon which the Ambassador returned the Emperor thanks, and took his leave.

At night one of the Queens sent some provisions dressed in the palace, and fruit, desiring to know how the Ambassador did, and wishing him a good night. The victuals were high seasoned, and stewed with roots and spices.

The next day we were sent for again to see the palace, where arriving about 9 o'clock, we were first shewn some large rooms full of men and boys making saddles, stocks for guns, scabbards for scimitars, and other things. From thence we passed through several large neat buildings, and at length entered the most inward and beautiful parts of the palace, which has a garden in the middle, planted round with cypreiss and other trees. All the columns of this building, which is of a vast length, are of marble, and said to be ancient *Roman* pillars
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transported thither from *Sally*; the arches and doors of the apartments are finely adorned.

Here one of the Queens sent us a collation of dates, grapes, melons, almonds and raisins, figs and sweetmeats. The fruit was very welcome, for walking had made us dry, we therefore sat down under a piazza, and were attended by the maids of the palace, whose jetty skins received no small embellishment from the shining bracelets, and silver trinkets they wore in great plenty on their arms and legs, with gold chains about their necks, monstrous large earrings, and other *African* ornaments; we were all the while observed by the Emperor's women, though we did not know it till afterwards.

This regale being ended, we parted from our black attendants, and were conducted to another neat regular building with piazzas all round. The area was all chequer-work, and in the middle was a row of marble basons at certain distances, with little channels cut in stone, conveying water from one to the other. Here is a magazine and treasury. We afterwards visited the inside of an apartment where one of the Queen's formerly lived, we saw also the baths and some beautiful cobahs belonging to that apartment. From thence we were led through several other buildings, consisting for the most part of oblong squares, with piazzas, under which the doors enter into the lodgings, which are generally ground rooms. The doors of each building are all of one size and form, finely inlaid, and some of them gilt. In one
of

of these squares was a fountain with channels of marble, that formed a very neat and pretty labyrinth. We afterwards visited some other stately cobahs, which are lofty and magnificent rooms, each covered with a dome painted of a sky colour, adorned with stars, and a golden sun in the middle, of curious workmanship.

This palace is about four miles in circumference, and is almost square. It stands on even ground, and has no hill near it. The buildings are of rich mortar, without either brick or stone, except for pillars and arches, and the mortar so well wrought, that the walls are like one entire piece of terrass. The whole building is exceeding massy, the outer wall being 25 feet thick. Going to take a distant prospect of this structure, we passed through a large field where on each side of the path, were great numbers of rats of a prodigious size, which burrowed in the earth like rabbits, and ran about so thick, that the ground was almost covered by them, letting us come within eight or ten yards of them, before they would go into their holes, and having passed up to them, they again appeared above ground, so that both before and behind us were vast multitudes of them. At the end of this field, which is of great extent, is a garden of pomegranates planted in a valley, over which the Emperor has built a strong bridge, that reaches from the top of one hill to the other, for the more commodious passing over them.

On the 22d of *July* the Ambassador had his second audience when the Emperor had ordered

dered all the *English* captives to be drawn up in his palace. We went with the music playing, as before, and found the Emperor sitting under a piazza; but mounting his horse, and after the first compliments, waving his hand to the captives, he bad them go home with the Ambassador into their own country; upon which they all fell prostrate, crying, *God bless thy power*, and were going out of the presence, when the Emperor causing them to stay, added, that he loved the Ambassador and all the *English*, because he knew they loved him and his house, and that there should not be an *Englishman* a slave in his empire; then waving his hand again to the captives, they went away; and the Ambassador returned the Emperor thanks for the honour he had done him; after some other compliments, that Prince turning his horse galloped away.

On the 25th the Ambassador went to visit *Muley Ally*, one of the Emperor's sons, who received him sitting on a silk carpet wrought with gold in large flowers. He had two black boys fanning him, one of them drest in a vest of black and white flowered velvet, the other's was of yellow speckled with black. The Prince's garment was of rich cloth of gold. They brought us chairs, and we sat down for some time, the Ambassador talking to the Prince by one of our captives, who rested himself on his hands and knees, at the threshold of the door, and when he spoke to the Prince, prostrated himself almost close to the ground. We were then led up stairs,

and entertained with wine and music till dinner, which consisted of above twenty large dishes, dressed several ways.

Mequinez is situated in a delightful plain, at the distance of about twelve leagues from the city of *Fez*, and was an inconsiderable place before the Emperor chose to build his palace there, which has rendered it the metropolis of a large empire.

In the midst of the city live the *Jews*, who have a place to themselves, the gates of which are locked at night. They have an Alcayde to protect them from being plundered by the common people ; for as it is death for them to curse, or lift up a hand against the meanest *Moor*, the very boys kick them about at their pleasure, against which they have no other remedy but running away.

Close to *Mequinez* on the north-west side, and only divided from it by a road, stands a large Negro town, that takes up as much ground as the city ; but the houses are neither so high nor so well built. Its inhabitants are all blacks or tawnies, out of whom the Emperor recruits the soldiers for his court.

The Emperor who treated us with such civility, was named *Muley Abdallah*, and was eighty-seven years of age, about fifty of which he had spent on the throne. But though his behaviour to us was obliging ; yet he might justly be termed a monster in the human form, and one of the most bloody tyrants that ever plagued mankind ; for his life was one continued scene of exactions, murders, and the most

most horrid acts of cruelty, daily exercised on his slaves, and his miserable subjects. Yet this wretch was esteemed a saint; he was continually prostrating himself on the earth, to offer up his petitions to *Mahomet*, and perpetually exercising wanton acts of inhumanity. By his four wives, and the many thousand women he had in his seraglio, during his long reign, he is said to have had 700 sons able to mount a horse: but the number of his daughters is not known.

It is a thousand pities that so fine a country should be subject to a government that in the most effectual manner discourages industry and improvement: For the climate is delightful, though too hot, and the soil extremely fertile, producing every thing that can contribute to use and pleasure, even beyond imagination, nature in a great measure supplying the deficiency of their industry. They imitate the *Spaniards* in their manner of tilling the ground, which produces great quantities of wheat, barley, pease, beans, hemp and flax; and they reap three times between *May* and *September*. Would the government but countenance industry, or at least allow the people to enjoy in peace the fruit of their labour, the land would be capable of producing a hundred times as much as is now consumed in the country; for it is said, that a hundredth part of the land is not cultivated.

The chief commodities exported from thence are tin, copper, hides, wool, cordovans, dates, honey, wax, raisins, olives, almonds,

gum-arabic, gum-sandric, elephants teeth, ostrich feathers, indigo, and fine mats.

Fez is the centre of the trade of this Empire, and from thence the caravans go to *Mecca* and *Medina*, carrying goods into the East; and from thence large caravans set out every year to *Guinea*.

On the 27th of *July*, a little before sun-set, we left *Mequinez*, with the articles of peace signed by the Emperor; and travelling the same road we came, arrived at *Tetuan* on the 12th of *August*. Some of our captives died there, and upon the road; and one was drowned in the river *Alcassar*. We embarked with 206 of these captives, who were all that were left alive, and had not turned *Moors*. From them we learned, that at our coming to *Mequinez* there were reckoned to be 1100 *Christian* slaves in the Kingdom, about 300 of whom were *English*, without reckoning nineteen who had embraced the *Mahometan* religion; there were 400 *Spaniards*, 165 *Portuguese*, 152 *French*, 69 *Dutch*, 25 *Genoise*, and 3 *Greeks*; but some of all these different nations had been induced to change their religion, and thereby lost all hope of being redeemed.



OF THE
R E L I G I O N
OF THE
M A H O M E T A N S,
WITH A
Description of *MECCA* and *MEDINA*.
BY
JOSEPH PITTS.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

THOUGH many learned and ingenious Authors have wrote on the religion of the *Mahometans*, none seem so qualified for the task as Mr. *Pitts* of *Exeter*, who when a youth was taken captive by the *A'gerines*, and by the force of torment, in a strange country, where he had no *Christian* friend to comfort and strengthen him, was unhappily compelled

to seem to embrace the religion of the country. Persecution may, indeed, shake the resolution of the mind ; but can never convince the judgment. Thus it happened with our Author ; he was still a *Christian* : yet as he assumed the garb and manners of a *Mahometan*, he was admitted into their mosques, and allowed to visit the supposed sacred places of *Mecca* and *Medina*.

We have already in the course of this work given an account of such of their ceremonies and opinions as fall within the public notice *. We shall here shew the superstitions as naked as they appear to the *Mahometans* themselves, and describe places which no *Christian* is allowed to see : objects of curiosity and instruction that must appear to every inquisitive mind as highly worthy of attention. But at the same time we shall here forbear to enter into a description of the country of *Algiers* ; this, with the other pyratival states, we reserve for the learned pen of Dr. *Shaw*, whose observations, in this respect, are more curious and extensive.

* Particularly in Mr. *Thevenot's* Travels, Vol. XII. from page 5 to page 16.

C H A P. I.

The Author carried into Algiers, where he is sold for a Slave, and severely treated by his Master, who afterwards sells him. The Kindness shewn him by the English Consul of Tunis. The cruel Manner by which his new Master prevails on him to turn Mahometan; an Account of the Ceremonies of the Mahometan Worship in their Mosques.

I Having a strong inclination to the sea, entered in the year 1678, when I was about fourteen or fifteen years of age, on board the *Speedwell*, at *Lymson*, near *Exeter*, Mr. *George Taylor*, Master, on a trading voyage to *Newfoundland*, from thence to *Bilboa*, from thence to the *Canaries*, and so home; but on our coming near the coast of *Spain*, we had the misfortune to be taken by an *Algerine* rover, and carried to *Algiers*.

On our landing we were carried to the Captain's house, where we were allowed only bread and water. The next morning we were driven to the Dey's, who having chosen an eighth part of the slaves for the service of the public, the rest of us were driven to the market-place for the sale of *Christians*, who are disposed of by way of auction; but after the bidders have done bidding, the slaves are driven again to the Dey's house, where any that are disposed

disposed to advance above what was bidden at the market, may : but then whatever exceeds the bidding in that place, belongs not to the pirates, but to the Dey.

I was bought by a man who treated me with the utmost cruelty, and though it is very uncommon for the *Algerines* to trouble themselves about the religion of their slaves, my patroon, or master, was continually beating me in order to force me to become a *Mahometan*. With this cruel man I lived about two or three months, and he then sent me to sea. I gladly went on board, flattering myself with the hopes of our being taken by some vessels belonging to the *Christians*. We were out two months, in which we took only one *Portuguese* ship ; and my heart sunk within me on its being resolved to return to *Algiers*, where I expected to be treated with the same cruelty by my inhuman master, who had staid on shore. But to my great satisfaction, in a few days after my return to that city, he sold me to a person who lived in the country and had many slaves, both *Christians* and Negroes.

My second patroon had two brothers in *Algiers*, and one at *Tunis* : I was bought in order to be given to the latter, and was very handsomely dressed to inhanse the value of the present. Soon after my patroon and I sailed for *Tunis*, where we arrived within fourteen or fifteen days. We immediately went to the house of my master's brother. The next day a young man, my patroon's nephew, being proud of having a *Christian* to wait upon him, made

made me walk after him, to which I readily consented, from my desire to see the city. As I was attending my new master through the streets, I met with a gentleman dressed like a *Christian*, who asked me, if I was an *Englishman*? I answered, Yes. He then enquired, how I came thither? to which I replied, I came with my patroon. He then desired to know if I was a slave, and I let him know that I was, and that I came from *Algiers*. Not being willing to enter into farther discourse in the public street, he invited the young man on whom I waited to come to see him at such an hour of the day, and to bring me to his house, which the youth readily promised.

The gentleman was no sooner gone, than my young master, to my no small pleasure, told me, that he was the *English* consul. We went at the time appointed, and I was directed to his chamber, while the young spark was eating and drinking in another room. The Consul asked me many questions, and among the rest, whether I could write and understood arithmetic; and telling him I could do both tolerably well, he called for pen, ink, and paper, and bid me write a line, on which I wrote, *The Lord be my guide, in him will I trust*. He seemed pleased, and after some farther conversation, kindly told me, that if I were left in *Tunis*, he would order matters to my satisfaction; but if my patroon designed to carry me back again to *Algiers*, I should let him know it. Telling me, if I had so much liberty, I should be welcome to come every day to his house.

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When I had been at *Tunis* about thirty days, I, to my great grief, heard that my patroon's brother would not accept of me, and that I must return to *Algiers*. This news I communicated to the Consul, who endeavoured to remove my concern, by telling me, that he and two other *English* merchants would the next day endeavour to procure my redemption; this, indeed, they attempted, and agreed to give 300 dollars for me; but my patroon insisting on 500, the Consul, when I saw him again, told me that I must have patience, for a hundred pounds was a considerable sum to be contributed by three only. Upon this, bursting into tears, I returned him a thousand thanks for his generous good-will; when the Consul laying his hand on my head, bid me serve God and be chearful, and when he returned to *England*, he would prefer a petition to the King for me.

Thus were all my hopes vanished. My patroon returned with me to *Algiers*; and some time after being made Captain of a troop of horse, took me with him to the camp, when his brothers being also in the army, the youngest was continually persuading me to turn *Mahometan*; and finding all his arguments ineffectual, he applied to my master, telling him, he had been a debauched man, and a murderer; but that making me a proselyte would atone for his past crimes. Upon this my master, the elder brother, began also to persuade and threaten me, and one day when his barber came to shave him, he bid me kneel before

before him, which I did. He then ordered the barber to cut off my hair: I mistrusting them, began to struggle; but by mere force they cut off my hair, and then the barber strove to shave my head, my patroon all the while holding my hands. I kept shaking my head, and he kept striking me in the face. My head was at length with difficulty shaved, and my patroon would then have me take off my cloaths, and put on the *Turkish* habit; but I plainly told him I would not: whereupon I was dragged away to another tent, where we kept our provisions, and there the cook and the steward stripped me, and one of them held me, while the other put on me the *Turkish* garb. All this while I kept crying, and told my patroon, that though he had changed my habit, he could not change my heart.

The following night, he used entreaties that I would gratify him by renouncing my religion. I told him it was against my conscience, and desired him to sell me and buy another boy, who might perhaps be more easily won; but for my part, I was afraid of being everlastingly damned, if I complied with his request. He told me, he would pawn his soul for mine, and made use of many other importunate expressions. At length, I desired him to let me go to bed, and I would pray to God, and if I found better reasons suggested to my mind for changing my opinion by the next morning, I did not know what I might do; but if I continued in the same mind, I desired him to say no more on that subject.

To this he agreed, and I went to bed. But he had not patience to stay till the morning for my answer. He awoke me in the night, and asked, what were my sentiments now. I told him they were the same as before: on which he seized my right hand, and endeavoured to make me hold up the fore-finger, as they do in uttering the *Mahometan* creed; but I bent it down with all my force. When seeing nothing was to be done without violence, he called two of his servants, and commanded them to tie up my feet with a rope to the post of the tent, which being done, he with a great cudgel beat me on my bare feet, and being a strong man, his blows fell very heavy. I roared out with pain; but the more I cry'd the more furiously he laid on, threatening that he would bastinado me to death, if I did not turn, and stamping with his foot on my mouth to stop the noise of my crying. At which I begged him to dispatch me out of the way; but he continued beating me. Having endured this merciless usage till I was ready to faint and die under it, and yet saw him as mad and implacable as ever, I begged him to forbear, and I would turn. Breathing awhile, he urged me to speak the words *La Allah ellalilah*, *Mohammed resul Allah*: that is, There is but one God, and *Mahomet* the prophet of God. But I held him in suspense, and at length told him, that I could not speak them: at which he was more enraged than before, and fell upon me again in the most barbarous manner. After having received many more blows,

I again besought him to hold his hand, and gave him fresh hopes of my turning *Mahometan*; but after a short respite I told him, as before, I could not do what he desired. Thus I held him in suspense three or four times; but at last finding his cruelty insatiable unless I turned, and overcome by pain and terror, I spoke the words, holding up the fore-finger of my right hand. Presently I was had to a fire; care was taken of my feet, and I was put to bed; but was unable to stand for several days.

All the ceremony used by one who turns *Mahometan* by compulsion is only holding up the fore-finger of his right hand, and pronouncing the above words: but when any person voluntarily turns from his religion to the *Mahometan*, a great deal of formality is used. In this case he goes to the court, where the Dey and Divan sits, and declaring his willingness to be a *Mahometan*; he is mounted on a fine horse, adorned with rich trappings; and is very handsomely dressed with a turbant on his head; but nothing of this is to be called his own; only there is given him two or three yards of broad-cloth, which is laid before him on the saddle. Thus he rides all round the city, carrying an arrow in his right hand, which he holds strait up, thus supporting the fore-finger of his right hand, which he holds up against it. He is attended with drums, and other music, with twenty or thirty persons, who march in order on each side of the horse, with naked swords in their hands. There is

also a person on each side the street, as he marches through, to receive what people are pleased to give him; and one here and there drops perhaps the value of a farthing or a half-penny. Mean while the cryer goes before giving thanks to God for the profelyte that is made. A few days after the circumciser comes and performs his office, and then he is a *Mahometan* to all intents and purposes. It is pretended by some writers, that when any thus voluntarily turns *Mahometan*, he throws a dart at the picture of *Jesus Christ*, in token of his disowning him; but there is no such custom.

About two or three months after I was taken a slave, I had found means to send a letter to my father, giving him an account of what had happened; to which I received a kind and affectionate answer a few days after I had been thus induced by my patroon's barbarity to turn from my religion: but in this answer he tenderly exhorted me to let no methods of cruelty prevail on me to deny my blessed Saviour; and observed, that he had rather hear of my death, than of my being a *Mahometan*.

This letter threw me into the greatest dejection of mind, and a few days after, I wrote a second letter to my father, in which I let him know that I was forced by the cruelty of my master to turn *Mahometan*; but that I was a *Christian* in my heart, and that as soon as ever I could find an opportunity I would endeavour to make my escape. After this several other letters past between us.

Not-

Notwithstanding what I had done, I still lived a miserable life with my patroon, and was often so beaten by him, that my blood ran upon the ground; for a *Christian* slave, does not by turning *Mahometan*, become free. Besides he now hated me, from his suspecting my sincerity, and on that account I fared in many respects worse than my fellow slaves. I lay with them in the stable, and also still eat with them. Our provisions were very coarse, and mostly barley bread with sour milk: but if a sheep happened to die, the flesh came to our share.

Though the *Mahometans* of this country have all the outward appearance of religion, yet almost all kinds of wickedness, except murder and theft, are left unpunish'd. They are generally very strict in praying five times a day; and in their numerous ablutions, in which they are extremely exact. I shall more particularly describe the worship of the mosques, which *Christians* are not allowed to enter. Even the female sex of their own religion are excluded from having any share in the public worship.

The clerk having called from the steeple of the mosque, the people immediately haste thither. The insides of these buildings have neither pews nor seats, but a plain floor spread over with mats, except near the Imam where carpets are spread. The galleries are likewise spread with mats. In the mosques are neither pictures nor statues, for they utterly abhor images, and the walls are all white. On coming to the door the men put off their slippers, walk in barefoot, and putting the soles of their slippers together,

place them before them, and kneeling rest upon their heels. The Imam is not raised above the people; his back is towards them; but the Mezzins or Clerks are placed in a gallery by themselves, where they observe his motions, and begin with much the same words as they had before used in calling from the steeple: that is, "God is great. God is great. "I testify that there is no God besides God. "I testify that *Mahomet* is the messenger of "God. I testify that *Mahomet* is the messenger "of God. Haste to prayers. Haste to prayers. "Haste to a good work. Haste to a good "work. Now prayers are beginning. Now "prayers are beginning. Now prayers are "beginning. God is great. There is no "God besides God." On his saying the last words, all the congregation bring their two thumbs together, and kiss them three times, and at every kiss they touch their forehead with their thumbs, and then rising up all on their legs, they stand exactly close to each other in even ranks.

They all imitate the Imam in the front, who is no sooner on his feet than he brings his two thumbs to touch the lower part of his ears, at which the Mezzin, or Clerk above, cries out, "God is great," at the hearing of which they all touch their ears, saying the same to themselves. The Imam then says a short lesson out of the Koran, which being ended, he bows with his hands resting on his knees, at which the Mezzin again makes the same exclamation, and when the Imam recovers himself and stands upright, it is again repeated.

The Imam now placing his hands on his thighs, gently sinks on his knees, then stretching forth his hands on the ground, brings his forehead to touch it, at which he repeats again, "God is great." The Imam then recovers himself on his knees, with his hands on his thighs, and stretches his hands on the ground as before, the Clerk repeating the same expression. All which postures and ceremonies the Imam performs a second time, and the Mezzin uses the same words as the first; which being done, the Imam sits still on his heels about a minute, with his hands on his thighs, and fixing his eyes on the floor, says a short prayer, at the conclusion of which he looks over his right shoulder, and then over his left, saying at each, *Welcome my Angels; or Peace be to you*; for they hold that every one has two *Angels* to attend him, especially at the time of their worship. It must be observed, that all in the same congregation use the same gestures as the Imam, and all at the same instant; the Mezzin speaking loud is a sufficient token when to bow or rise; and they all stand with their faces towards *Mecca*.

At the conclusion of their worship, the Imam who officiates at the upper end of the mosque, kneeling in an oval place in the wall, and turning his face towards the congregation, who are all upon their knees imitating him, he takes out his beads, which are ninety-nine in number, and have a partition between every thirty-three; these they turn over, and for each of the first thirty-three they say, *Admire*

God; for the second thirty-three they cry, *Thanks be to God*, and for the third thirty-three, *God is great*. Which being ended, the Imam with the whole assembly, hold up their hands at a little distance from their faces, putting up their silent orisons; and to conclude all, smooth down their faces with their hands, take up their slippers, and go their way.

In this manner they behave in their public worship, which lasts about a quarter of an hour; and is repeated with some variations five times a day; and on *Friday*, which is their sabbath, the Imam, with a staff in his hand, mounts six or seven steps, and makes a kind of short sermon about a quarter of an hour long.

C H A P. II.

The Author is delivered from the Tyranny of his Master, and is purchased by another, who treats him kindly, and takes him to Mecca and Medina. A Description of those Places, and of the Worship performed there. He returns from thence, makes his escape, and arrives in England.

MY patroon with whom I lived very unhappily, and whose cruelty, added to the uneasiness of my mind, rendered life a burthen, at length engaged in a rebellion against the Dey, with the hopes of obtaining that office;

office ; but this at last cost him his life ; for being taken prisoner he was beheaded.

I was now in hopes that my patroona or mistress would have given me my freedom ; but this she refused, and sold me in *Algiers*, where I was led three days by the cryer about the streets, and was bought on the third by an old batchelor who employed me to dress his meat, to wash his cloaths, and to do all those things that is looked on as a servant maid's work in *England*. I now wanted for neither meat, drink, cloaths, nor money. After I had lived with him about a year, he resolved to make his pilgrimage to *Mecca*, and to take me with him. We went by sea to *Alexandria* in *Egypt* ; but in our passage being taken sick, and thinking he should die, he took off a girdle which he wore under his fash, in which was much gold, and also my letter of freedom, which he intended to give me when at *Mecca*, and bidding me put it on, he took my girdle, and put it on himself ; which was a convincing proof of his regard for me ; but it pleased God that he recovered.

We stayed at *Alexandria* about twenty days, and then steered to *Rosetta*, where we entered the *Nile*, and sailed up that river to *Grand Cairo* †, where we furnished ourselves with three or four

† We have already given a very particular account of *Egypt* imbellished with many plates from Dr. Pococke, and Mr. Norden, to which we refer our readers. See Vol. XII.

months provisions, that were to serve us till our return to *Egypt*; and hired camels to carry us to *Suez*, a small town situated at the end of the *Red Sea*. We there embarked again, and after about a month's sail, came to a place called *Rabbeck* about four days sail from *Mecca*, where all the pilgrims, except those of the female sex, strip off all their cloaths, and covering their bodies with only two wrappers, with their heads bare, and sandals on their feet, go on shore and travel by land to *Mecca*; when the scorching heat of the sun sometimes burns the skins off their backs and arms, and greatly swells their heads. However when any man is in danger of losing his health by these austerities, he may lawfully put on his cloaths, on condition, that when he comes to *Mecca*, he kills a sheep, and gives it to the poor. But while they wear this mortifying habit, it is held unlawful for them so much as to cut their nails or to kill a louse or a flea, though they see them sucking their blood. They are likewise to entertain no enmity against any one, to be watchful over their tempers and passions, to observe a strict government of the tongue, and to make continual use of a form of devout expressions. These austerities last seven days.

At *Gidd*, the nearest sea port town to *Mecca*, from which it is not quite a day's journey, we unloaded our ships, and here were met by persons who came to instruct the pilgrims in the ceremonies to be used in their worship.

On our arrival at *Mecca*, the above persons, who were our guides, conducted us into the
great

great street which is in the midst of the town, and to which the temple joins : he then directed us to the fountains where we performed our ablutions, and then he took us to the temple, where leaving our shoes with one who attends to receive them, we entered at the door called *the Gate of Peace*. Having proceeded a few paces, our guide held up his hand toward the *Beat-Allah*, and uttered several words which the pilgrims repeated after him : bursting into tears at the sight of the building. After which we were led seven times round it, and then were conducted into the street where we were sometimes to run, and sometimes to walk very quick, the pilgrims behaving with the utmost awe and trembling : performing these superstitious ceremonies with the appearance of the most extraordinary devotion. This being over, we returned and sought out for lodgings.

All the pilgrims think it their indispensable duty to improve their time while they are at *Mecca*, not only in doing their accustomed duty, and devotion at the temple, but to spend all their leisure time there, and as far as their strength will permit to continue walking round the *Beat-Allah*, at one corner of which is fastened a black stone, framed in with silver, and every time they come to that corner, they kiss the stone, and having gone round seven times, they perform two prayers. This stone they say was formerly white, but the sins of the people who kiss it have rendered it black.

The

The Temple of *Mecca* is a square building with an area on the inside surrounded with piazzas, much like those of the Royal Exchange in *London* : but the square is near ten times bigger, and over the piazzas is, on each side, a range of domes which cover little rooms or cells, the habitations of such as give themselves up to reading and a devout life ; and at each corner is a minaret or steeple, from which the criers call the people to prayers. The area on each side of the inclosure, is covered with gravel, except some paths that lead to the *Beat-Allah*. There are forty-two doors in the outer building that open into the square.

The *Beat-Allah*, which stands in the centre, is a square solid structure near twenty-four paces each way, and about twenty feet high, formed of large stones perfectly smooth and plain, without the least carved work. It is covered all over from top to bottom with a thick silk, and above the middle part of the covering are letters of gold embroidered all round, the meaning of which I have forgot ; but I think they were some devout expressions. Near the lower part of the building is a large brass ring, through which passes a great cotton rope to which the lower part of the covering is fastened. The threshold of the door is as high as a man can reach, and therefore when any person enters the *Beat*, a set of steps are brought for him to ascend. The door is plated all over with silver, and a covering hangs over it that reaches to the ground, which is kept turned up all the week except on *Thursday* night and *Friday*,
day,

day, which is their Sabbath. This covering of the door is so thick embroidered with gold, that it weighs several score pounds. The top of the building is flat and covered with lime and sand. It has a long spout to carry off the water when it rains, at which times the people throng and struggle to get under it, that the water which comes off the *Beat* may fall upon them, which they esteem a great happiness, and if they can catch some of it to drink, their joy is excessive.

Round the *Beat* is a pavement of marble about fifty feet in breadth, on the edge of which stand pillars of brass near fifteen feet high and twenty feet distance from each other: above the middle part of them iron bars are fastened reaching from one to the other, with glass lamps hanging to each, by brass wires, to give light in the night; for while the pilgrims stay at *Mecca*, they pay their devotions as much by night as by day.

About twelve paces from the *Beat* is, what they call, the Sepulchre of *Abraham*, whom they say by God's command built the *Beat*. This sepulchre is enclosed with iron grates, and has a very handsome embroidered covering. At a small distance from it on the left hand is the well *Zemzem*, the water of which is esteemed holy. They pretend that it is as sweet as milk, but I could perceive no other taste in it, but that of common water, except its being somewhat brackish. The pilgrims on their first coming to *Mecca* drink of it unreasonably, by which means they are not only purged, but their flesh breaks out in pimples. This they

they call the purging of their spiritual corruptions.

Many of them carry some of this water home to their respective countries, in little tin pots, and present perhaps half a spoonful of it to each of their friends, which they receive in the hollow of their hands with abundance of thanks, sipping a little of it, and bestowing the rest on their faces and naked heads.

Opposite each side of the *Beat* is a small structure supported on pillars, where the Imam together with the Mezzins perform their devotions and superstitious ceremonies in the sight of all the people. These structures belong to four different sort of *Mahometans*.

[To give a more perfect idea of this famous building, we have given the reader the following plate, in which

A is the black stone already mentioned.

B carpets spread on the ground to perform their devotions on.

C the building in which is the well *Zemzem*, the water of which is accounted salutary to those who drink it.

D the gate of the *Beat Allah* consisting of two folding doors.

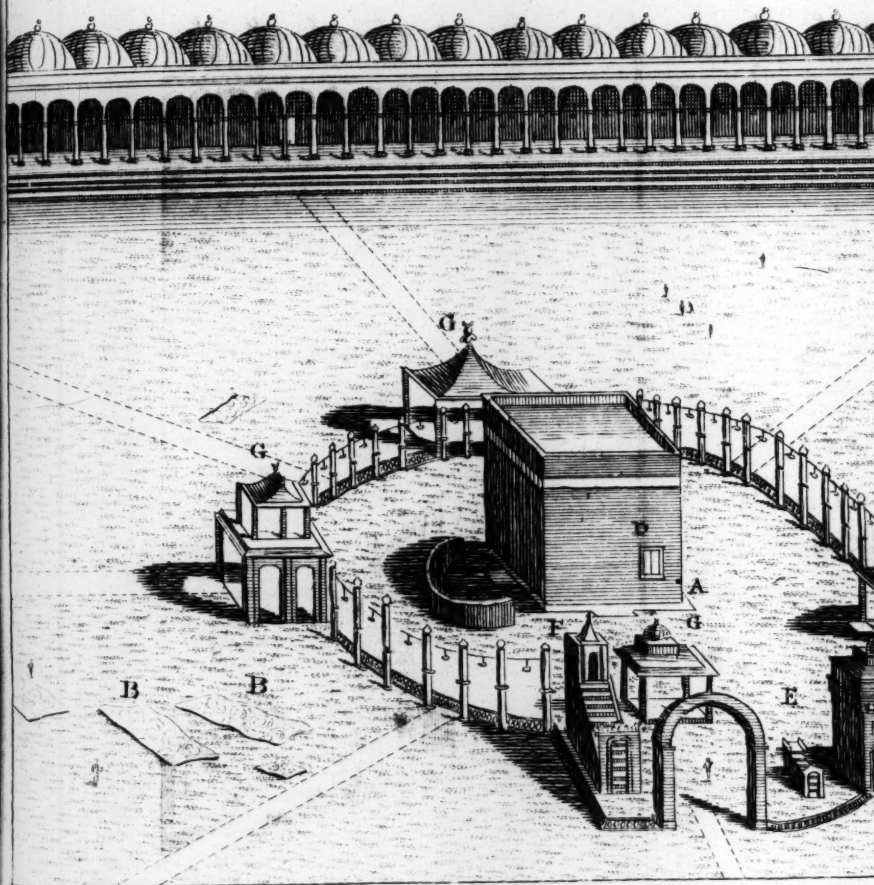
E the steps by which they ascend to them.

F a pulpit from which the Imam harangues the people.

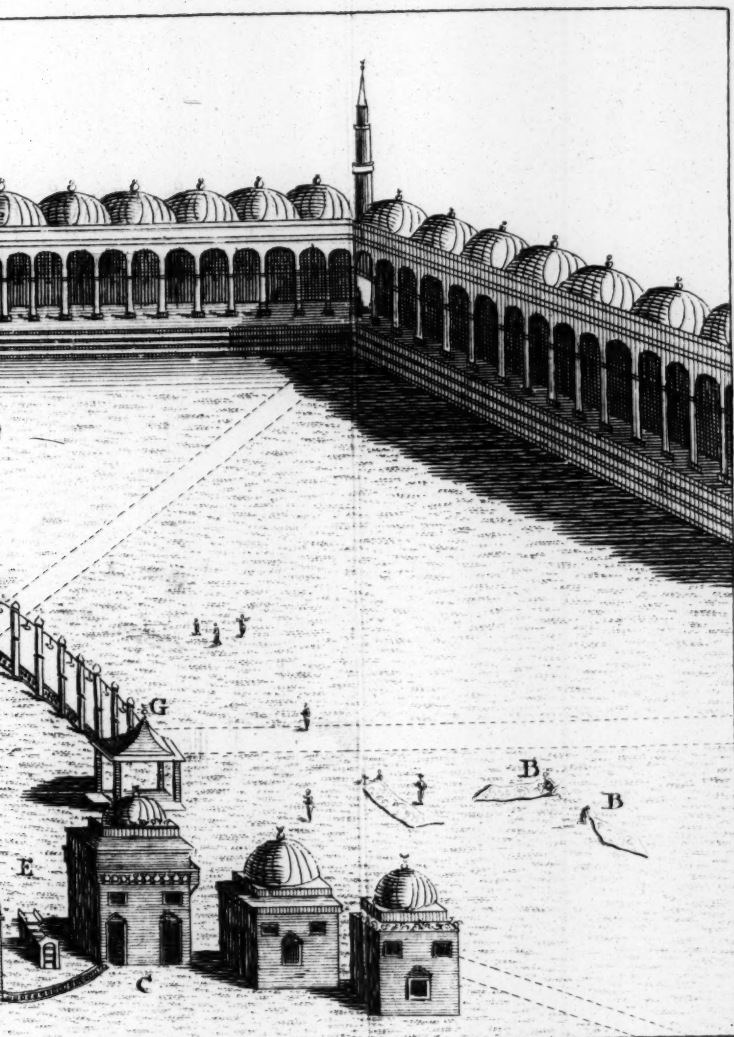
G the places where the four chief sects of the *Mahometans* meet.]

The *Beat Allah* is opened but two days in the space of six weeks, one day for the men, and the next for the women. As I was at *Mecca* about

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The Temple at Me



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about four months, I had an opportunity of entering it twice, an advantage which many thousands of the Hadgees have not met with. All that they have to do is to hold up their hands, look over each shoulder, and say *Well-come my Angels*, and then offer some petitions ; but they are so devout that they will not suffer their eyes to wander. Nay, they say, that one was struck blind for gazing about. Disregarding this idle story, I now and then cast an observing eye : but found nothing worthy of notice ; only two wooden pillars to support the roof, and a bar of iron fastened to them, on which hang three or four silver lamps, which I suppose are but seldom if ever lighted. The floor and the walls are of marble, and the latter are usually hung with silk, which is pulled off before the Hadgees enter. Those who enter the *Beat* stay scarce half a quarter of an hour, because others wait for the same privilege, and while some go in, others are going out.

After all that will, have done this, the Sultan of *Mecca*, who is of the race of *Mahomet*, does not think himself too good to clean the *Beat*. He and his favourites first wash it with the holy water *Zemzem*, and after that with sweet water. The stairs which were brought to enter in at the door being removed, the people croud under the door to receive the sweepings of the water on their bodies, and the besoms or brooms, with which the *Beat* is cleaned are broken to pieces, and thrown out amongst the mob ; when he that gets a small stick or twig of it, keeps it as a sacred relic.

Every year the covering of the *Beat* is renewed, and sent from *Grand Cairo* by order of the Grand Seigneur; and when the caravan goes with the pilgrims to *Mecca*, the new covering is carried upon two camels, which do no other work all the year long. It is received with extreme joy, some kissing the camels and bidding them welcome. The old covering being pulled down, the new one is put up by the Sultan of *Mecca*; and he cutting the old covering in pieces, sells them at a great price to the Hadgees.

At *Mecca* are thousands of blue pigeons, which none will affright or abuse, much less kill them, whence they are so very tame that they will pick meat out of one's hand, and I myself have fed them. They are called the pigeons of the prophet, and come in great flocks to the temple, where they are usually fed by the Hadgees.—I have heard some say, that they pay such reverence to the *Beat Allah*, that they will never fly over it; but this is not true, for I have often seen them fly over it.

The pilgrims, before they receive the honourable title of *Hadgee*, again put on their mortifying habit, and go to an hill called *Gibbelet Orphat*, or the mountain of knowledge, where there are said to meet no less than 70,000 persons every year, two months and nine days after the fast of *Ramadan*; and it is pretended that if there are fewer than that number, God will supply the deficiency by so many Angels. Indeed the number of the Hadgees at this mountain is very great, tho' I cannot think it amounts to so many. It was however a melancholy sight to behold so many thousands in

their garments of humility and mortification, with their naked heads, and their cheeks wet with tears ; with sighs and sobs earnestly begging, in a form of penitential expressions, the remission of their sins ; and promising newness of life, and thus continuing for the space of four or five hours. After this they all at once receive the title of *Hadgee* from the Imam, which they from thence enjoy till their death.

Immediately upon their receiving this name, the trumpet is sounded, and they all leave the hill to return towards *Mecca*. Having proceeded two or three miles, they rest for that night ; but after their devotions, each person gathers 49 small stones about the size of an hazel nut.

The next morning they move to a place called *Mina* or *Muna*, where, they say, *Abraham* went to offer up his son, and there they all pitch their tents, and then every *Hadgee* throws seven of the stones he has gathered at a small pillar, crying, *Stone the Devil, and them that please him*. There are two other of the like pillars situated near each other, and at each of the three, they, the second day, throw seven stones, and the same number the day after. It is observable, that after they have thrown the seven stones on the first day, the country people having brought great flocks of sheep to be sold, each person buys one, and sacrifices it : some of the flesh they give to their friends and the poor, then pull off their penitential habits, and spend the three days in festivity and rejoicing ; but during this time, there are few who are able, who do not run once at least, to

have a fresh sight of the *Beat Allah*, which they no sooner behold, than they burst into tears of joy, and having performed their devotions return back to *Mina*.

The three days being expired they all return to *Mecca*, where they must not stay above ten or twelve days, during which a great fair is held, in which is sold all sorts of *East India* goods. Almost every one now buys a shroud of fine linen to be buried in, for the advantage of having it dipped in the holy-water; and this they are sure to carry with them wherever they go. The evening before they go from *Mecca*, every one takes a solemn leave of the *Beat Allah*, from which they retire backwards, holding up their hands and offering up their petitions with their eyes fixed on the building till they have lost sight of it, and then they burst into tears.

Mecca is situated in a barren spot about a day's journey from the *Red Sea*, and is surrounded by a great number of little hills. It is without walls, and the buildings very mean. The climate is exceeding hot, whence the inhabitants, especially the men, usually sleep on the tops of the houses or in the streets before their doors. Some lay their bedding on a thin matt on the ground, and others have a slight frame, on which they put their bedding; but before they bring it out they sweep the streets and water them. I usually lay on the top of the house covered only with a linen cloth dipped in water, and wrung out; when I awoke I
found

found it dry, and therefore wetted it again, and this I did two or three times in a night.

On our leaving *Mecca* we proceeded on camels to *Medina*, where *Mahomet* lies entomb'd. This is but a small mean town : but it is wall'd round, and has a large mosque, in one corner of which is a place built about fourteen or fifteen paces square, this building has spacious windows fenced with brass grates. On the inside it has some ornaments. It is covered with a dome, and has a number of lamps : some relate that there are no less than 3000 of them ; but I am sure there are not above a hundred. In the middle of this place is the tomb of *Mahomet* surrounded by silk curtains like a bed : but none of the Hadgees are permitted to enter it ; for the Eunuchs alone go in to light the lamps, which burn by night. It is pretended by some, that *Mahomet's* coffin is suspended by the attractive virtue of a loadstone, fixed to the roof ; but this is false ; for when I look'd thro' the grate of the window, the curtains that covered the tomb were not half so high as the dome, so that it is impossible the coffin should hang there ; nor do the *Mahometans* pretend that it does.

On our leaving *Medina*, we passed thro' *Egypt*, and having reached *Alexandria*, I was walking with an *Irish* Renegado on the quay, where we saw an *English* boat with a man in it, whom the Renagado earnestly desired me to speak to, which I was afraid of doing ; however, I at last asked him some questions, which made him enquire where I learnt *English*. I

old him in *England*. He then desired to know if I was an *Englishman*, and from what part of *England* I came. I told him from *Exeter*, and related the manner in which I was taken ; but being afraid of holding a long discourse with him, I hastily retired.

The next day, when I was again walking, I observed the same man and another person with him, who running up to me, hugged me in his arms, crying, *I am glad to see thee, with all my heart*. At first I did not know him, till he told me who he was, when I found that when boys, we had been play fellows. I was very desirous of having further talk with him, and he pressed me to drink a glass of wine ; but I refused. He then invited me to a coffee-house ; but I told him I could not go, because it would be full of *Mahometans*. I however inquired after the health of my father, and my friends, and he told me that he saw my father a little before he left *England*. At my desire he readily promised to carry a letter for me, and I afterwards sent by him a *Turkish* pipe to my father, a silk purse to my mother, and gave him a sash for himself, telling him that I hoped God would find out some way for my escape ; but my heart bled at parting with him.

My patroon had however, before this, the generosity to give me, according to his promise, my liberty at *Mecca*. I was therefore no longer a slave, yet the cruel death that would have been inflicted, had I been found to endeavour to make my escape, and the ill consequence of
my

my giving room for such a suspicion, made me thus cautious.

On my return to *Algiers*, I entered into the army, and my generous master who loved me as if I had been his son, freely gave me my board, and let me know that he proposed to leave me something considerable at his death : but notwithstanding this pleasing prospect, and all the gratitude I felt for his kindness, the hopes of being retaken, made me leave him and go to sea ; but my wishes were not granted : At length the grand Seigneur sending to the *Algerines* for some ships, I resolved to go in one of them, flattering myself with the hopes of making my escape at *Smyrna*.

I had some time before been afflicted with a humour in one of my eyes, on which I applied to an *English* slave who understood physic and surgery, and who lived with Mr. *Butler*, an *English* merchant, and he undertaking the cure, I went twice or thrice a day to be dressed, where being in no fear of being seen by a *Mahometan*, I frequently took up a Bible and read in it. One day being found thus employed by Mr. *Butler*, he seemed to wonder at it ; but all I dared to tell him was, that I had no hatred to the Bible. In a little time growing better acquainted with him he invited me to dinner, and among other things had a piece of bacon ; but I had the precaution to refuse to taste it. He, however, soon found the way to remove my reserve, and I opened my whole heart to him, on which he promised to assist me all in his power to make my escape, and was so kind as

to propose it to Mr. *Baker*, Consul of *Algiers*, the brother of the Consul of *Tunis*, who had generously endeavoured to redeem me from my slavery to my second patroon.

Mr. *Butler* introduced me to that gentleman, who kindly wrote me a letter of recommendation to Mr. *Raye*, Consul of *Smyrna*; charging me, if I should be in danger of death, or a discovery, to convey it overboard, for his safety.

With this letter I set sail with the above fleet, and on our arrival at *Smyrna*, I presented it to the Consul, who having read it, ordered the Interpreter to withdraw, and as soon as he was gone, asked me if I was the man mentioned in the letter. I told him I was, when observing that the design was very dangerous, and that if it should be known to the *Turks* that he was any way concerned in it, it would cost him his life and all he was worth; he added, that however, on Mr. *Baker's* account, he would do me all the service in his power: but cautioned me not to come to his house, except upon some extraordinary occasion.

A day or two after this, I found out an *English* merchant, who had served part of his apprenticeship at *Exeter*; I made myself known to him, and this gentleman, whose name was *Eliot*, promised to assist me, and kindly told me, that I need not run the hazard of going to the Consul's house; but if I had any thing of moment to communicate to him, he would do it for me, and I gladly followed this friendly advice.

In

In a month's time it was cry'd about the city of *Smyrna*, that all *Algerines* should repair to their ships. All this time no *English* or *Dutch* ships came to *Smyrna*; it was therefore agreed, that to prevent suspicion, I should go to *Scio* with the *Algerines*, which I accordingly did, and staid there till the *Algerines* were gone; but some time after returned to *Smyrna*, where I kept myself very private, till a *French* ship was ready to sail.

On the evening before her intended departure I went on board, dressed like an *Englishman*, with my beard shaven, a campaign peruke, and a cane in my hand, accompanied by three or four of my friends. The boat that carried us aboard was brought just to the house where I lodged; and as we were going into it, there were some *Turks* of *Smyrna* walking by, but they had happily no suspicion.

My good friend Mr. *Eliot* had agreed with the Captain of the ship to pay 4*l.* for my passage to *Leghorn*; but neither the Captain nor any of the *Frenchmen* knew who I was. After they had brought me safe on board, they took their leave of me, and told me, that if the ship did not sail the next morning, they would visit me again, which accordingly they did, bringing wine and provisions aboard, and were very merry, though I could not help being extremely uneasy till the ship had made sail: nor did I enjoy the least peace of mind till we reached *Leghorn*, where, as soon as I came ashore, in a transport of joy, I prostrated myself, and kissed the earth, blessing Almighty
God

God for his undeserved mercy, in suffering me once more to set my foot in a *Christian* country.

From thence I set out by land, and having travelled through *Italy* and *Germany*, and at last arriving at *Helvoetsluys*, crossed in the *English* packet to *Harwich*. I had received many instances of civility from strangers on the road; but the very first night I lay ashore in my native country, I was impressed into the King's service, we being at that time at war with *France*. And though I made known my condition, acquainting them how many years I had been in slavery, and begged for my liberty with tears, yet I was carried to *Colchester* prison, where I lay some days. While I was there I wrote two letters, one to my father, and the other to Sir *William Falkener*, who was one of the *Turky* or *Smyrna* company in *London*, and on whom I had a small bill for a little money. In a few days I was put aboard a smack, that was to carry the impressed men to the *Dreadnought* man of war; but I had not been long there before my name was called, there being a letter for me, when, to my great surprize and joy, I found it came from Sir *William Falkener*, who, upon the receipt of mine, notwithstanding my being an absolute stranger to him, had the humanity to go immediately to the Admiralty-office, and get a protection for me, which the Lieutenant had received. This news was so sudden and unexpected, that I could not forbear leaping on the deck.

My

My first business on my arrival at *London*, was to wait on that worthy and honourable gentleman, to pay him my thanks for such a singular favour. After which I made what haste I could to *Exeter*, where I at last arrived to the great joy of my father, and my other relations and friends, after being absent above sixteen years : but I had the grief to find that my mother had died about a year before my return.





T R A V E L S

THROUGH

B A R B A R Y,

BY

T. SHAW, D. D. and F. R. S.

C H A P. I.

Of the manner of travelling in Barbary : with a Description of Tlemsan, the western Province, and its Antiquities, particularly of the Cities of Oran, Sherhell, and Tremesen, or Tlemsan.

THE Author, whose ingenious description of the *Holy Land*, we have added to Mr. Maundrell's travels †, has, in his account of *Barbary*, ranged his observations under distinct heads, without mentioning the time, place, or manner in which they were made: but as

† See Vol. XI.

the method of surveying these countries; the diet and reception of the traveller, with the hardships and dangers to which he is exposed, ought not to be passed over in silence, he gives the reader in one view, such material circumstances and observations, as might have been dispersed thro' his travels.

The reader is therefore to be informed, says he, that in the several maritime towns of *Barbary* where *British* factories are established, I was entertained with extraordinary marks of generosity and friendship, having the use not only of their houses, but of their horses, their janizaries and servants. In the inland towns and villages there is generally a house set apart for the reception of strangers, with a proper officer to attend it, where persons are lodged and entertained for one night, at the expence of the community, in the best manner the place will afford: but except at these, and the places before mentioned, I met with no houses of entertainment, thro' the whole course of my travels. The furnishing ourselves with tents would not only have been attended with expence and trouble, but would have raised the suspicion of the *Arabs*: if therefore in the course of our travels, we did not fall in with the hovels of the *Kabyles*, or the encampments of the *Arabs*, we had nothing to protect us either from the scorching heat of the sun by day, or the cold of the night, unless we had the happiness to find a grove of trees, the shelf of a rock, or sometimes by good fortune found a cave. When this happened, which was indeed but seldom,

our horses were the greatest sufferers; they were however, our first care, and we gathered for them grass, stubble, boughs of trees, and such like provender, before we sat down to examine what fragments of a former meal were reserved for ourselves.

When travelling in *Barbary*, we were so fortunate as to find an encampment of the *Arabs*, for we were not fond of visiting the *Kabyles*, who are not so easily managed, we were entertained for one night at free cost, and furnished with a sufficient quantity of provisions for ourselves and our horses: besides a bowl of milk, and a basket of raisins, dates, figs, or other dried fruit, generously presented to us upon our arrival, the master of the tent where we lodged, fetched us, according to the number of our company, either a kid, a goat, a lamb, or sheep, half of which was immediately boiled by his wife, and served up with cuscusu; the rest was usually roasted, and reserved for our dinner or breakfast the next day.

But though the tents of the roving herdsmen may shelter us from the weather, they are not without their inconveniencies; for the cold and the dews to which we were every night exposed in the deserts of *Aubia*, are much more supportable than the vermin and insects, which constantly molested us here: for besides fleas and lice, which are here in all their quarters, the apprehensions we were under of being bit or stung by the viper, the scorpion, or the venomous spider, rarely fails, in some parts of these countries, to interrupt the rest so grateful
to

to a weary traveller. Indeed upon sight of one of these venomous creatures, a thaleb or writer, who happened to be one of my Spahees, after he had muttered a few words, exhorted us all to take courage, as he had made it tame and harmless, by his charms and incantations : we are also no less offended by their kids, calves and other young cattle, that are every night tied up in the tents, to prevent their sucking their dams ; for the cords being generally made of loose spun yarn, they were continually breaking loose and trampling over us.

When we were entertained in a courteous manner, which was not always the case ; I used to give the master of the tent a knife, a couple of flints, or a little *English* gunpowder, which being much stronger than theirs, they highly esteem, and keep it to serve as priming for their fire-arms : and if his wife was obliging in making our cuscusu savoury and with expedition, she would return a thousand thanks for a pair of scissars, a large needle, or a skean of thread, which are great rarities.

During the excessive heats of summer, and particularly when we were afraid of meeting with a party of the *Arab* freebooters, we travelled in the night, which according to their proverb, *having no eyes*, few of them dare to venture abroad, from their not knowing what dangers and ambuscades they may fall into. We had then frequent reason to call to mind the words of the Psalmist †, “ Thou makest darkness that

† Psal. ciii. 2.

“ it may be night ; wherein all the beasts of
“ the forests do move. The lions roaring after
“ their prey ;” the leopards, hyænas, and a
variety of other ravenous beasts calling to and
answering each other ; the different sexes, by
this means, perhaps, finding out, and correspond-
ing with their mates ; these sounds awfully
broke in upon the solitude, and destroyed
the ideas of the safety we sought for by tra-
velling at this season.

We did not always take stages of the same
length, for when under the apprehension of
danger, we travelled through all the by-paths
that were known to our conductors, without
resting, sometimes twelve or fifteen hours to-
gether ; but an ordinary day's journey, exclu-
sive of the time taken up in making observations,
seldom exceeded eight or nine hours. We
constantly rose at break of day, and setting for-
ward with the sun, travelled till the middle of
the afternoon, when we began to look out for
the encampments of the *Arabs* ; who, to pre-
vent such parties as ours coming to live upon
them, chuse such places as are least conspicu-
ous. And indeed, unless we discovered the
smoke of their tents, heard the barking of their
dogs, or observed some of their flocks, it was
with difficulty, we were able to find them, and
all our labour was frequently ineffectual. When
we came up with them, we were accommodat-
ed, as I have already said, for one night ; and
if in travelling the next day,

-----We

——— *We chanc'd to find
A new repast, or an untaasted spring,
We blest our stars, and thought it luxury.*

ADDISON.

In the *Holy Land*, and upon the isthmus between *Egypt* and the *Red Sea*, our conductors cannot be too numerous ; but in *Barbary*, where the *Arabs* are under great subjection, I was rarely attended by more than three *Spahees* and a servant, all of us well armed : though we were sometimes obliged to augment our numbers, particularly when we travelled among the independant *Arabs* on the frontiers of the neighbouring kingdoms, or when two contiguous clans were at variance ; these and the freebooters make no scruple of robbing, plundering, and murdering, not only strangers, but one another

The best method to prevent falling into their hands, is for a traveller to be always dressed in the habit of the country, or like one of the *Spahees*. For the *Arabs* are jealous and inquisitive, suspecting every stranger to be a spy, and sent to take a survey of those lands, which, at one time or other, they are taught to fear will be restored to the *Christians*.

I cannot help here observing, that a traveller can scarce fail of falling into a serious train of thought, when he observes such large scenes of ruin and desolation as are seen in these countries. He is struck with the solitude of the few domes and porticoes that are left standing, which

history tells him were once crowded with inhabitants : where *Syphax* and *Masfiniffa*, *Scio* and *Cæsar* ; where the Orthodox *Christians* and the *Arians*, the *Saracens* and the *Turks* have in their turns given laws. Every pile, every heap of ruins points out to him the weakness and instability of all human art and contrivance, reminding him of the many thousands that lie buried below, now lost in oblivion, and forgotten to the world.

Two of the most considerable districts of that part of *Africa*, which latter ages have distinguished by the name of *Barbary*, are the kingdoms of *Algiers*, and *Tunis*. The former is bounded on the north by the *Mediterranean Sea* ; on the east, by the river *Zaine*, the ancient *Tusca*, which separates it from *Tunis* ; on the south, by the *Sabara*, or desert ; on the west, by the village of *Tawunt* and the mountains of *Trara*, which separate it from *Morocco*. According to the exactest observations I could make, I find, its true length from *Tawunt* to *Tabarka*, to be 460 miles, it extending from 16 minutes west longitude from *London*, to the river *Zaine* in 9 degrees 16 minutes east. To the west it is generally about 60 miles broad ; and the eastern part is no where less in breadth than 100 miles. This country is at present divided into three provinces, that of *ilemsan* to the west ; the province of *Titterie* to the south, and of *Constantia* to the east of *Algiers*. Each of these provinces is governed by a Bey or Viceroy, appointed and removed at pleasure by the Dey of *Algiers*.

The remarkable chain of hills which Geographers sometimes place between this country and the *Sahara*, and at others within the dominions of *Algiers*, I take to be a continuation of Mount *Atlas*, though they are not so high as they are represented by the ancients: for those parts of them which I have seen, are rarely equal to some of the most lofty mountains in our island; and I question whether they are any where so high as the *Alps* or the *Appenines*. If you form the idea of a number of hills, usually of the perpendicular height of four, five, or six hundred yards, with an easy ascent, adorned with groves of fruit and forest trees, rising successively one behind another, with here and there a rocky precipice, and place upon its side or its summit, a village of *Kalyles*, encompassed with a mud wall, you will have a just and lively idea of one of these mountains, and you will have no occasion to heighten the picture, with the imaginary nocturnal flames, the melodious sounds, or the lascivious revels of the fictitious beings attributed to them by the ancients.

Tawunt and the mountains of *Trara*, are the western confines of the province of *Tlemsan*, as the river *Ma-saffron*, at near 200 miles distance, bounds it to the east. This province is almost equally distributed into mountains and valleys. *Tawunt*, the frontier village of the *Algerines* to the sea, is situated about four leagues to the south-west of Cape *Hone*, and defended by a small fort. This Cape is the largest and one
of

of the most conspicuous promontories to the eastward of the river *Mulwa* or *Mellonia*.

At some distance from the above Cape is the river *Tafna*, on the western banks of which, almost contiguous to the sea, are the ruins of the ancient *Siga*, once a royal city of the *Aumian* Kings.

The first town on the coast of any note, is the city of *Warran*, commonly called *Oran*; which is about a mile in circumference, and situated on a declivity near the foot of a mountain, on the summit of which are two castles. Within less than half a furlong of this mountain, is another castle in a situation somewhat higher than the two former; but a large vale lying between them, their respective ridges are so remarkably disunited, as to form a convenient land mark for mariners. To the south and south-east are two other castles erected upon the same level with the lower part of the town, but separated from it by a deep winding valley, which may be considered as a natural trench to the south side of the city. In the upper part of this valley is a spring of excellent water above a foot in diameter, which forming a rivulet, adapts its course to the several windings of the valley, and passing under the walls of the city, plentifully supplies it with water. At every opening of this valley we see such a confused view of precipices, plantations of orange trees, and rills of water trickling down from the rocks, as appears extremely delightful: for nature rarely displays such a variety of prospects
and

and cool retreats. Near this fine spring is another castle, which is also an important defence to the city.

Three of these castles are regular polygons : but the other two, that is, the highest upon the ridge, and the eastermost of those before the town, are of a different form, and built like our old *English* castles, with battlements and loop-holes.

The city of *Oran* has only two gates, both of which open into the valley. *The Gate of the sea*, the name given to that nearest to the port, has a large square tower erected over it, which, upon occasion, might be converted into a fort. Adjoining to the upper gate, called the *Gate of Tlemsan*, is an oblong battery ; and the citadel raised on the highest part of the city towards the north-west, has all its angles mounted with cannon, while the lower and opposite corner towards the north-east is defended by a regular bastion.

The *Spaniards* on their taking this city, built several beautiful churches and other edifices in the *Roman* style, but of less strength and solidity, and have also imitated them in carving upon the friezes, and other convenient places, inscriptions in large characters in their own language.

Three *Roman* miles from *Oran* is *Arzew*, the ancient *Arsenaria*, behind which the country extends in rich champain grounds ; but on the other side we look down upon the sea, from precipices that are a natural safe-guard to the city. Yet the water at present used by the inhabitants,

habitants, is drawn from wells below the precipices, that appear as old as the city; but this water being beneath the surface of the sea is brackish; however, to procure the advantage of fresh water, the city was built on cisterns cut in the rock, in order to collect that which fell in rain. But though these still subsist, they are converted to a very different use, and serve the inhabitants as caves to dwell in. Among the ruins of the ancient city are scattered several capitals, bases, and shafts of columns; a well wrought *Corinthian* capital of *Parian* marble supports a smith's anvil; and in the Cadi's house I accidentally discovered a beautiful mosaic pavement, through the rents of a ragged carpet spread over it. There is here also a sepulchral chamber fifteen feet square, built plain without niches or any other ornaments; though on the walls are several *Latin* inscriptions in *Roman* capitals.

Five miles to the southward of *Arzew* is a large space of ground full of pits, from which the neighbouring people are supplied with salt. This commodity, from the facility of digging it, and the shortness of carriage to the adjacent port, would, under any other government, be an invaluable branch of trade, the pits being inexhaustible.

These salt pits take up an area of about six miles in compass, surrounded with mountains. In winter this space appears like a lake; but in summer the water is exhaled by the heat of the sun, and the salt left behind cristalized.

Five miles to the east of *Arzew* we pass by two galley ports, under some steep rocky cliffs, one of which opens towards a place called *Mustigannim*, and the other towards *Arzew*. Both seem to have been under the protection of a fort situated above them, that was formerly supplied with water from an adjacent mountain, by a conduit that might be easily repaired for use.

The next town to which we came was *Mazagran* or *Mazachran*, an inconsiderable place, encompassed by mud walls, and situated upon the western declivity of a range of hills, within a furlong of the sea. In travelling between this place and *Mustigannim* we were entertained with the prospect of a number of orchards, gardens and country seats, ranged in a beautiful variety along the shore. A chain of hills bounds them to the south and south-east, which not only intercepts the noxious winds from these plantations; but every where breaks out in fountains to cherish them during the hotter seasons.

Near it is the city of *Mustigannim*, which was once an episcopal see, when this country was in the possession of the *Christians*. This last place is bigger than *Oran*, and built in the form of a theatre, with a full prospect of the *Mediterranean*; but on every other side is enclosed up by a circular range of hills that hang over it. The inhabitants have a tradition that the present city was composed of several contiguous villages, and some vacant spaces between the streets seem to confirm this opinion. In
the

the midst of the city, near one of these vacant spaces, are the remains of an old *Moorish* castle, which from its form seems to have been erected before the invention of fire arms. The north-west corner of *Mustigannim*, which overlooks the port, is surrounded by a strong wall of hewn stone, and has another castle built in a more regular manner, with a *Turkish* garrison for its defence; but the city being too much exposed to any body of men that might lodge themselves on the hills behind it, its principal strength lies in the citadel erected upon one of those eminences, which has a full command of the city and country around it.

The good masonry and beauty still so observable in some walls and a castle to the north west, render it probable, that they formerly belonged to some *Roman* fabric; but I did not meet with any thing that had the appearance of the ancient architecture. However, both *Mustigannim* and *Masagran* are so copiously supplied with water, so commodiously situated with regard to the fertile and extensive downs behind them, and enjoy such a delightful prospect of the sea and its coast, that they seem stations too valuable to be neglected by the *Romans*, and it is probable that here was the city of *Cartenna*.

Three leagues to the north-east is a heap of ruins enclosing a fountain of excellent water, near which a bloody battle is said to have been fought, in which the weaker party were all put to the sword; whence this place is called *Kelmeeta*, or *All dead*: and three miles to the

the north-west of this place, is the mouth of the *Shelliff*, the most considerable river in the Kingdom.

Farther to the east-north-east, at a small distance from the sea is *Inis* or *Tennis*, which though in a low dirty situation, was before the conquest of the *Barbarossa*, the metropolis of one of the petty Kingdoms of this country. It has now only a few miserable houses, with a little brook winding by them ; but it has been long famous for the great quantity of corn shipped off from thence to Christendom. The *Moors* have a tradition that the *Tniffans* were formerly in such reputation for sorcery, that *Pharaoh* sent for the wisest of them to dispute miracles with *Moses*, and they are still the greatest cheats of all this country.

Farther to the eastward is the city of *Sherbell*, where the inhabitants are famous for making earthen vessels, steel, and such iron ware as are in demand among the neighbouring *Kabyles* and *Arabs*. It consists of low tiled houses, and is a mile in circuit ; but was once much larger, and the seat of one of the petty Kings of the country. This town is situated amidst the ruins of a city that was not much inferior to *Carthage* in extent. These ruins are a proof of its former magnificence ; for they abound with fine capitals, columns, capacious cisterns, and beautiful mosaic pavements. The water of the river *Hasshem*, as it is now called, was conveyed thither through a large and noble aqueduct, little inferior to that of *Carthage*, in the loftiness and strength of

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its arches, several of the fragments of which scattered among the neighbouring mountains and valleys are incontestible proofs of the grandeur and beauty of the work. There are likewise two other conduits, brought from the mountains to the south and south-west; these still subsist, and as they furnish *Sherbell* with excellent water, while that of the wells is brackish, they may justly be considered as two inestimable legacies left to this place by the ancients.

The situation of this place was nobly adapted to strength and beauty. It was secured from the encroachments of the sea by a strong wall near forty feet high, supported by buttresses, and winding near two miles along the several creeks of the sea shore. For two furlongs within this wall the city was on a level, and afterwards rose gradually for the space of a mile to a considerable height, extending over a variety of little hills and valleys. One of the principal gates on the land side, placed about a furlong below the summit of these hills, leads to the rugged mountains of the *Beni Menasser*; and of the two others near the shore, that to the westward lies under the shade of the high mountains of the *Beni Yisrah*, while the eastern gate opens towards the mountainous district of *Shenoah*.

This place, from many circumstances, evidently appears to have been the *Julia Casaria* of the *Romans*, which was the see of a Bishop. The inhabitants have a tradition that the whole city was destroyed by an earthquake,
and

and that the port, which was formerly large and commodious, was reduced to its present miserable condition, from the arsenal and the other adjacent buildings being thrown into it by the shock. The cothon, which had a communication with the western part of the port, affords a proof of the truth of this tradition, for when the sea is low and calm, we discover all over the area massy pillars, and pieces of great walls that can scarcely be conceived to come there by any other way, than by some such violent concussions. Indeed no place could be better contrived for the convenience and safety of their vessels than this cothon, which was 50 yards square, and in every part secure from the wind, the swell and the current of the sea, which are troublesome enough in the port. The founders art and ingenuity in supplying it with water cannot be sufficiently admired. For this purpose several floors and pavements of terrass and mosaic work were laid upon an eminence, forming the northern mound of the port and the cothon, in which the rain water was received as it fell, and thence conveyed by means of some small conduits, into an oval cistern capable of containing many thousand tons of water. This port is nearly of a circular form, 200 yards in diameter; but that part of it which was formerly most secure, is now filled up by a sand bank, that is daily increasing.

The country about the city is extremely fertile, and exceedingly well watered by several brooks; on the bank of one of them is an

old ruined town under a high rocky precipice ; and at some distance near these fountains the *Algerines* have a fortress, in which is a garrison of *Moors* and *Arabs*, to prevent the incursions of the *Bene Menasser*. Certainly nothing can be more entertaining than the variety of prospects every where to be met with in this delightful country.

Five miles to the northward of this fortress is the high mountain of *Shenoah*, which extends above two leagues along the shore, and is covered to its very summit with a succession of fine plats of arable land, almost every where hedged in with fruit trees.

Having passed the river *Gurmoat*, which is formed by several rills of water that fall from this mountain, we discover a number of stone coffins of an oblong figure, and a little farther to the east, under a rising ground, are the ruins of *Tefessad* or *Tfessad*, extending two miles along the sea shore, but the breadth is not equal to one third part of the length. Both at this place, and at *Sbershell*, we see many arches and walls of brick, of a kind not commonly found in other parts of *Barbary*, where we may suppose the work to be *Roman*. The bricks are of a fine paste and colour, only two inches and a half thick, but near a foot square.

Tefessad is situated thirteen miles from *Sbershell*, and appears to have been the ancient *Topsi*, which was the see of a Bishop. The coast all along from this place to *Algiers*, in some parts for the breadth of two or three leagues together, is either woody or mountainous,

tainous, by which the fine plains of the *Mitti-jiah* behind it, are sheltered from the northerly blasts of wind from the sea.

The *Kubber Romeah*, or *Roman Sepulchre*, or as it may likewise be rendered *The Sepulchre of the Christian Woman*, is situated on the mountainous part of the sea coast, seven miles from *Tefessad*, and is a solid compact edifice; it consists of a very high base, on which is formed a kind of pyramid of steps. This structure, which is built of the finest free-stone, I computed to be an hundred feet in height, and the diameter of the base ninety. The opinion that this structure was erected over a large treasure, has caused several parts of it to be broken down; however, it is still of a sufficient height to be a convenient land mark for mariners. This appears to be the monument built by *Mela* for the royal family of the *Numidian Kings*.

We shall now examine the southern parts of this province, and shall begin with the city of *Tremesen*, or according to the pronunciation of the *Moors* and *Arabs*, *Tlem an*, or *Teiemsan*. It is situated upon a rising ground below a range of rocky precipices, upon the first ridge of which is a long narrow piece of level ground, watered by many springs, which uniting their streams, fall in a variety of cascades in their approach to *Tlemsan*; the westernmost of these rivulets turning a variety of mills. In the city is a large reservoir of water, conducted thither by a subterraneous channel, and from thence the usual demands of the city are supplied;

for which purpose the water is conducted from thence to the castle, the mosques, and other places. In the west part of the city is a square basin of *Moorish* workmanship 200 yards long, and about half as broad, in which, according to a tradition of the inhabitants, the Kings of *Tlemſan* took the diversion of sailing, while their subjects were at the same time taught the art of navigation : but this basin was probably designed rather as a reservoir in case of a siege, and to preserve at all other times a quantity of water sufficient to refresh the great number of fine gardens and plantations below it.

Most of the walls of *Tlemſan* are composed of a mortar made of sand, lime and small pebbles, which being well tempered and wrought together, form a substance that has all the strength and solidity of stone.

Tlemſan was formerly divided into distinct wards or partitions, in order, perhaps, the better to put a stop to any intestine commotion, or to prolong a siege. There were two of these divisions in the time of *Edreſi*, each of which might be considered as a distinct city ; it being of a square or oblong figure, enclosed by a wall of the same structure with that of the city : but about the year 1670, *Haffan*, Dey of *Algiers*, laid most of the city in ruins, as a punishment for the disaffection of the inhabitants. The ancient *Tlemſan* was about four miles round ; but at present there is not above one sixth part of it remaining. Among these ruins we meet with several shafts of pillars, and other fragments of *Roman* antiquities ; and in
the

the walls of an old mosque, I saw a number of altars dedicated to the *Dii Manes*.

In the village of *Hubbed*, a mile to the eastward of *Tlemsan*, is the tomb of *Sedi Boumidian*, which is visited by all the neighbouring people with the greatest devotion. At the same distance to the westward was the city of *Manfourah*, which at present has neither house nor inhabitant, though the greatest part of the wall, which is built in the same manner as that of *Tlemsan*, is still remaining, and encloses an area of two miles in compass, above half of it arable land. Near the centre of this area is a fountain, and a high beautiful tower; but the mosque which belonged to it has undergone the fate of the other buildings.

The plains of *Zeidoure* begin at the river *Iffer*, below *Tlemsan*, and extend themselves through a beautiful interchange of hills and valleys, to the distance of thirty miles: this delightful district, watered by a number of springs and rivulets, is cultivated by two numerous clans of *Arabs*, named *Welled Zeire*, and *Ha'fa*. About the middle of this tract, is a high pointed precipice, called the *Pinnacle of the Raven*, with a branch of the *Sinan* running below it. This river waters a piece of ground on which formerly stood a city of the same name, 32 miles to the northward of *Tlemsan*.

Near this river, I was shewn the place where *Barbarossa* strewed about his treasure; his last, but fruitless effort to retard the pursuit of his enemies. Upon an eminence on the other
side

side of the river is a *Moorish* sanctuary, inhabited by several religious.

Eight miles to the southward of *Mustygan-nim* is *El Cal'ab*, the great market of this country for carpets. It is a dirty, ill contrived town, built on an eminence of a chain of other mountains. Around it are several villages of the same name, and in a like situation, all of them employed in the same manufacture. It is defended by a citadel and garrison, and from some large stones and pieces of marble that are here and there to be met with, we have some reason to believe it was formerly a city of the *Romans*, perhaps the *Git'ui* or the *Apfer* of *Ptolemy*.

In a fine plain, five leagues to the south-west of *El Cal'ab*, is the town of *Mascar*, which consists of a considerable number of houses built with mud walls: it has several lesser villages in its neighbourhood, and a little fort, to prevent any sudden revolt of the *Arabs*; but it is not allowed to have a *Turkish* garrison.

Ninety miles to the eastward of *Tlem'san* are the ruins of *Tagadem't*, a large city situated between the rivers *Mina* and *Archeu*; but abandoned a few years ago by the *Ara's*, who have, as usual, taken care to leave us several marks of their own humility and ignorance in architecture, by defacing or pulling down whatever was beautiful and magnificent in the buildings of their ancestors.

Six leagues to the east of *Tagadem't* are the ruins of *Merâte*, and two leagues farther are those

those of *Lobo*. The fertile country below the parallel of the place where the last-mentioned city formerly stood, is cultivated by the *Sweede* or *Swidde*, the most powerful tribe of *Arabs* in this province. The name signifies black, and, I am told, was occasioned by a standard of that colour formerly displayed in their marches and battles. They pay no taxes, and serve the *Algerines* only as volunteers.

Seven miles farther are the ruins of *Mejiddab*, formerly a *Roman* station, seated upon a rising ground, with the river *Shelliff* below it; and at some distance on the banks of the same river, are the ruins of *Memon* and *Sinaab*, formerly two contiguous cities, and the see of a Bishop. The latter, which I judged to be three miles in circuit, seems to have been by far the most considerable; but the only remains now to be seen, are large pieces of walls, and several capacious cisterns.

El Khadarah, according to *Edressi*, the ancient *Ghadra*, which was the see of a Bishop, is the next remarkable place in this situation. It is likewise seated on a rising ground on the banks of the *Shelliff*, and is equal to *Sinaab* in the extent of its ruins. A range of mountains rising from the opposite banks of the *Shelliff*, shelter it from the north wind, while two other mountains, at a mile's distance, fronting it from the south, supply the beautiful little plain they inclose, with a plentiful rill of water. A few paces to the east of the ruins of *Chadra* are the remains of a large stone bridge, perhaps the only one ever built over the *Shelliff*, notwithstanding

withstanding the inconveniences which travellers are sometimes, in winter, obliged to suffer, by waiting a month together on its banks, before they can ford it.

On an eminence, three miles from the ruins of *Sinaab*, is a mud-walled village under the *Turkish* yoke, named *Merjejab*, only remarkable for being under the influence and protection of a family of *Marabbuts*, the greatest and most powerful of this country, who have succeeded from father to son through a number of ages.

Beni Rasbid, the *Beni Arax* of modern geographers, which is seated eight miles from *Merjejab*, is in much the same situation. It made a considerable figure in former ages, and had a citadel, 2000 houses, and a race of warlike inhabitants, that commanded the country as far as *El Callab* and *Masfar*. But at present the castle is in ruins; the 2000 houses and its large territories are reduced to a few cottages, and its inhabitants are become cowardly and timorous. The nature of the soil is, however, still the same, and is famous for producing figs and other fruit, remarkably large and delicate.

Descending the mountains of *Beni Rasbid*, we came to *El Herba*, formerly a *Roman* city, something more than a mile in circuit, situated two leagues to the eastward of the village of *Beni Rasbid*. Here are several columns of a bluish coloured marble, of good workmanship; but their capitals, which are of the *Corinthian* order, are much defaced.

Passing

Passing to the eastward over a fertile plain, through which the river *Souliff* pleasantly winds its stream, we come to *Maniana* or *Maliana*, built upon a mountain, two leagues from *El Herba*. This city, which was once the see of a Bishop, has at a distance the appearance of buildings and antiquities; but the fatigue of climbing up to it, is poorly recompensed by the sight of only a small village, the houses of which are covered with tiles instead of terrace, the usual covering of buildings in this country. *Maliana* has, however, many advantages; it being well watered, surrounded by a number of pleasant gardens and vineyards, and commands a most delightful and extensive prospect. Hither the devotees of *Algiers*, *Bleda*, and the neighbouring country repair in the spring to kiss the tomb of *Sede Youseph*, the tutelar saint of the city. There are here several fragments of *Roman* architecture; and from an inscription, that seems to relate to the family of *Pompey* the Great, *Martial's* fine thought on their misfortunes receives an additional beauty; on our finding that his grandson, and probably his great grandson were buried in such an obscure place, and at such a distance from their ancestors.

Eight miles to the east-north-east of *Maliana*, between the *Shelliff* and the sea, are the baths of *Mercega*, the *Aqua Calida Colonia* of the ancients. The largest and most frequented of these baths is a basin twelve feet square, and four deep. Here the water bubbles up with a degree of heat just supportable, and hence

passes off to another smaller cistern used by the *Jews*, who are not allowed to bathe in company with the *Mahometans*. Both these baths were formerly covered with a handsome building; but they are now exposed to the weather, and when I saw them, were half full of stones and rubbish. A great concourse of people are usually here in the spring, the season of these waters, which are supposed to remove rheumatic pains, to cure the jaundice, and to alleviate most other inveterate ill habits. Higher up the hill is another bath, the water of which being of too intense a heat for bathing, is conveyed through a long pipe into another room, where it is made use of in an operation of the same nature and effect as our pumping.

Between this and the lower baths, are the ruins of a *Roman* town, equal in size to that of *El Herba*, and at a little distance from them, are several tombs and coffins of stone, some of which, I was informed, were of an unusual bigness. The late Lieutenant of this province assured me, that he saw a thigh bone belonging to them, near thirty-six inches in length: but on my being at these baths half a year after, I could not receive the least information about it; and the graves and coffins that fell under my observation, were only of the usual dimensions. However, the people of this and other countries are full of stories and traditions of this nature; which, provided these should not be human bones, which may really be the case, as the *Africans* are far from being nice and skilful observers, we may possibly account for,
from

from a custom I have somewhere read of among the *Goths* and *Vandals*, that might pass over with them into *Africa*, of interring the horse with his rider, and the armour of the latter in the same grave ; and this assertion is confirmed by the long swords with handles shaped like crosses, often dug up in this country.

These baths are surrounded by a succession of very rugged hills and deep valleys, each of them in their turn very difficult and dangerous to pass over. But this fatigue and danger is sufficiently recompensed by our being afterwards conducted through the rich and delightful plains of *Mittijah*, lying beyond them to the northward, which are fifty miles long and twenty broad, every where well watered by a number of springs and rivulets. Here are many country-seats of the principal inhabitants of *Algiers*, and the farms which supply that city with the greatest part of its provisions ; for here grain of all kinds, roots, fruit, pot-herbs and flax, are produced in the greatest perfection. However, only a part of this plain properly belongs to this province, the rest, which is bounded by the rivers *Masaffron* and *Budwowe*, being claimed by the southern province, of which I am now to give a description.

The End of the Seventeenth Volume.

